





Ex libris  
UNIVERSITATIS  
ALBERTAENSIS











Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2020 with funding from  
University of Alberta Libraries

<https://archive.org/details/Bromling1970>







THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RESIDENT PARTICIPATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT:  
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE ALBERTA EXPERIENCE

by



ALVIN JOSEPH BROMLING

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE  
OF MASTER OF ARTS

INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1970







Thesis  
1970 F  
28

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and  
recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance,  
a thesis entitled "Resident Participation in Rural Development:  
A Comparative Analysis of the Alberta Experience" submitted by  
Al Bromling in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the  
degree of Master of Arts.





## ABSTRACT

The thesis is an exploratory study of resident participation in programs for rural development in Alberta. The study focuses on the scope and impact of participation within three agency approaches: the Community Development Officer (CDO) approach, the Area Development Team (ADT) approach and the Community Enterprise Development (CED) approach. The core of the thesis is a comparative analysis of Alberta case studies by means of an eight point efficacy scale and a four mode typology of participation combined to indicate the inter-relationships. The findings are presented as tentative hypotheses generated in the research process.

The findings indicate that the scope and impact of resident participation were greatest in the CED approach, second in the CDO approach and third in the ADT approach. The scope was assessed on the basis of the number and diversity of instances of participation, the impact of participation was assessed on the basis of the efficacy of local involvement in influencing rural development decisions. Comparisons based on the four alternate modes of participation indicate that the impact was greatest in the policy decision making mode, second in the employment mode, third in the social action mode and fourth in the program development advisory mode. An attempt was made to interpret the comparative findings in terms of community development principles.





## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer would like to express his appreciation to the following persons:

Dr. G. Kupfer, Dr. D. Gill and Professor J. Masson for their insight and guidance in the preparation of this thesis; Mr. E. B. Nagle for his cooperation during the field research for this thesis; Dr. C. A. S. Hynam for the initial stimulation of interest in the Community Development Program; his fellow students for their encouragement and constructive criticism; and Mrs. M. L. Derwing for her diligence in the typing of the manuscript.





## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I:	INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
	The Nature and Significance of Participation . . . . .	2
	The Resident Participation Dimension . . . . .	3
	Sources and Methods of Data Collection . . . . .	7
	The Analytical Framework . . . . .	9
	Limitations of the Study . . . . .	12
	Footnotes to Chapter I . . . . .	16
CHAPTER II:	APPROACHES TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT . . . . .	18
	The Framework of the Study . . . . .	18
	The Community Development Officer Approach . . . . .	25
	The Area Development Team Approach . . . . .	28
	The Community Enterprise Development Approach . . . . .	32
	Summary of Approaches . . . . .	35
	Footnotes to Chapter II . . . . .	40
CHAPTER III:	THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT OFFICER APPROACH . . . . .	43
	The Fort McMurray Case . . . . .	44
	The Slave Lake Case . . . . .	52
	The Saddle Lake Case . . . . .	57
	The Lac La Biche Case . . . . .	59
	Footnotes to Chapter III . . . . .	63





CHAPTER IV:	THE AREA DEVELOPMENT TEAM APPROACH . . . . .	66
	The Edson Area Case . . . . .	67
	The St. Paul Area Case . . . . .	80
	The Peace River Area Case . . . . .	83
	The Slave Lake Area Case . . . . .	85
	Footnotes to Chapter IV . . . . .	89
CHAPTER V:	THE COMMUNITY ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT APPROACH . . . . .	92
	The Saddle Lake Development Association . . . . .	93
	The Native Logging Cooperatives . . . . .	96
	The Federation of Southern Alberta Indian Cooperatives . . . . .	102
	The Three Provincial Native Associations . . . . .	105
	Footnotes to Chapter V . . . . .	111
CHAPTER IV:	COMPARATIVE ANALYSES . . . . .	114
	Figure 6:1 - Efficacy of Resident Participation; by Approach and by Mode . . . . .	115
	Participation in the Community Development Officer Approach . . . . .	118
	Participation in the Area Development Team Approach . . . . .	125
	Participation in the Community Enterprise Development Approach . . . . .	131
	A Comparative Perspective . . . . .	139
	Interpretation of Findings . . . . .	143
	Footnotes to Chapter VI . . . . .	151





CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	154
The Impact of Resident Participation . . . . .	155
Resident Participation in the Integrated Approach . . .	158
Relation to Community Development Principles . . . .	161
The Need for Further Research . . . . .	165
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	166
Articles and Reports . . . . .	166
Books . . . . .	169
APPENDICES . . . . .	171
Appendix A . . . . .	171
Appendix B . . . . .	173





# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to examine resident participation in rural development programs in Alberta during the previous decade. The thesis delineates the Alberta experience with resident participation and attempts to assess the impact of this local involvement on the total process of rural development in the province.

The thesis consists of three main sections. The introductory section consists of a chapter on the scope and significance of participation and a chapter outlining selected approaches to rural development.

The second section consists of three chapters of case studies based on the three approaches to rural development implemented in Alberta.

The third section consists of a chapter of comparative analyses of the case studies to point up the impact of resident participation on the rural development programs. The section also contains a final chapter of conclusions based on interpretation of the findings in the comparative analyses.

There is no attempt to include all aspects of the rural development process within the purview of the thesis. The case studies and comparative analyses focus on a basic dimension of rural development: - the dimension of resident participation in the decisions and activities of development programs in rural society.





## The Nature and Significance of Participation

This thesis attempts to add to the growing fund of interdisciplinary knowledge of the theory and practice of citizen participation in the social decision processes, with a focus on local involvement in agency activities. The significance of such knowledge of participation is derived from the assumption that effective social participation is a key variable in the development of a viable democratic society.

The scope for citizen participation in innovative social programs and other aspects of community life has become one of the crucial issues in the formulation of social policies in North America today. Until recent years the central concern of behavioral scientists' research on participation has been with participation in the political process through the channels of the electoral system. However, the electoral process view of societal decision making is extremely narrow and the present trend is to emphasize the scope and significance of other modes of citizen participation in the modern community.

It is from this perspective that the phenomena of client community participation in innovative social programs, such as government activities aimed at social change and economic development, is a significant area for behavioral research. Further, the community development principles derived from empirical and theoretical knowledge of human behavior suggest that citizen participation is a key factor enabling marginal communities to respond effectively to the rapid political, social, economic and technological changes in an urban industrial society.

The renewed concern for citizen participation is in some sense a response to the activities of government intervention bureaucracies designed to solve the problems of social injustice and economic disparity.



These developmental agencies, whether aimed at urban renewal, rural development, regional planning or a war on poverty have a direct and potentially damaging impact on the local community. The new concern for resident participation is based on the premise that this mechanism will serve to make these agencies more sensitive to the human needs and civil liberties of the resident poor, the service recipients or the minority group that receives the impact of these intervention agencies. It is also based on the premise that individuals should be able to participate in the decisions that affect their lives and that, in fact, innovative social programs for alleviating poverty, reducing disparity and social injustice can be effective only if the people are actively involved in the planning and implementation of these programs.

There is little question that resident participation is a significant factor in determining the responsiveness and the effectiveness of government activities. But divergences emerge regarding the form and substance of citizen involvement in the activities of these intervention bureaucracies. Walinsky<sup>1</sup> notes that the issue can be reduced to divergent conceptions of the nature of participation--manifested in the continuing tension between the representative and participatory processes of democracy.

### The Resident Participation Dimension

It is within this context that the demand for maximum feasible resident participation in social programs has become one of the most controversial issues of today. A highly sceptical view of the phenomena of resident participation is presented by Moynihan<sup>2</sup> who points to the internal contradictions of the Economic Opportunity Act of





1964 which was the mandate for resident involvement in the community action programs of the American war on poverty. It is the contention of Moynihan that resident participation should not be structured in such a way as to threaten other already unsure institutions of local government. To do so plants the seeds of the programs' own destruction.

Several other developmental scholars point to the serious limitations of resident participation in these programs. Wilson<sup>3</sup> points out that lower class residents are not effective in organizational situations especially of a planning nature. He maintains that excessive emphasis on resident participation will effectively paralyze local government's capacity to deal with the pressing problems of adjustment in urban areas. In his inventory of arguments for and against resident participation Goldblatt<sup>4</sup> observes that the most telling reason for government to avoid local involvement is that it tends to mobilize a veto group whose interest is to block certain programs. This is closely related to the argument that residents tend to have a too particular perspective that is an obstacle to programs in the supposed public interest.<sup>5</sup>

A much more favourable assessment of resident participation is offered by Marris and Rein<sup>6</sup> who observe that resident involvement has a very useful double function. Participation is an instrument to induce and rationalize the integration of marginal groups into the mainstream of urban society and it is an instrument that enables the client constituency to exert pressure on institutions to make them better adapt to the needs of local communities and guard against the abuses of institutional self-interest. In this view resident participation becomes a countervailing force to the trend toward the exclusion of citizens from meaningful roles in the mindlessly expansive and affluent society observed by Goodman.<sup>7</sup>





A strongly affirmative view of resident participation is provided by the Cahns<sup>8</sup> whose analysis indicates that citizen participatory action is a source of human dignity in society, a mobilizer of unrealized human resources, a vital feedback mechanism for government programs and a crucial inclusive process able to provide the essential integrative force of a pluralistic society. The Cahns are extremely critical of conventional agency and institutional procedures that reduce citizens to the level of "passive consumers of services." Their alternative is to regard the citizen as a part of a participatory process of community with the right and capacity to deliberate on the allocation of resources in the community. From this perspective resident participation is both an effective means to develop the society and an important value commitment for a more humane community.

This short overview of the emergence of resident participation as a central controversial issue of the day provides the background for the present attempt to conceptualize this dimension for the purpose of this analysis. In a general way the dimension of resident participation in this thesis refers to the process of local people taking part in or sharing in the activities of the community. This sharing may be passive or active depending on the degree of ego-commitment to the goals of the activity. This simplistic conceptualization would divide the resident participation into two types--active and passive--depending on the extent to which the local people shared in the decision making process.

Another way to get a perspective on the concept of participation is to note that current political literature places the term on a continuum of meaning--beginning with apathy as a form of negative participation and ending with an intensive, ego-involved type of participatory democracy. This continuum indicates the diverse meanings



possible for a discussion of the resident participation dimension of rural development.

In order to focus on the participation dimension as it is viewed in this study it is useful to observe the way that the concept is used in development literature. In terms of poverty programs, social change programs and rural development the term participation refers to the involvement of the clientele in the social process of development. In his analysis of selected cases of intervention for social change Jones<sup>9</sup> found that participation was the tactic most often used to facilitate the introduction of change. In his analysis he denotes participation as the tactic of involving the individuals or groups concerned in the decision making process before the actual change is introduced.<sup>10</sup> From the perspective taken by Jones, resident participation is a manipulative tactic used by the agency to induce the client community to accept a unilaterally pre-determined change.

The difficulty with the Jones' perspective is that it inevitably leads the observer to assess the effectiveness of resident participation in terms of its usefulness in achieving the objectives of the agency through the means selected by the agency. It makes the assumption that the agency must acquire the cooperation or at least the passive acquiescence of the client community if the agency is to be successful in imposing its change program on the community. The examination of the participation dimension in this thesis attempts to avoid the manipulative and impositional orientation that is basic to Jones' view of resident participation.

One of the most valuable studies of resident participation is Selznick's<sup>11</sup> provocative analysis of the organizational aspects of government intervention for rural development. He is much more





restrictive than Jones in his specification of what constitutes resident participation in development activity. Instead of viewing it as an agency tactic for managing local dissidence Selznick<sup>12</sup> specifies that resident participation refers to a degree of local control over agency decisions. He differentiates 'substantive participation' which is effective in policy determination from 'mere administrative involvement for the convenience of the agency'. He considers forms of client community involvement that are formal and ritualistic rather than influential in decision making to be quite distinct from actual resident participation. Substantive participation is a process in which residents can actually influence the outcomes of decisions and activities of rural development.

In terms of this examination of rural development in Alberta the concept of resident participation is viewed as a means of agency openness to the direct influence of the local community. It is in fact viewed as a means of agency responsiveness and enhanced accountability to the particular needs and priorities of the residents of the rural community. It is in some sense a means of local resident power to enable them to share more fully in the psychological and material benefits of development.

#### Sources and Methods of Data Collection

The description and analysis of this thesis are developed from the writer's field experience with a rural development agency in Alberta. The writer was employed as a research and liaison assistant with the Human Resources Development Authority during the summer of 1969. This position permitted extensive contacts with several agencies



involved in rural development programs in the province. The thesis is an expansion and documentation of observations and insights based on this field experience.

The case materials on rural development presented in the descriptive section are only partly based on direct observation of community processes. Most of the data is derived from interviews with resident participants and agency officials who are directly involved in rural development in the province. Other important sources of data are newspaper articles, agency files and reports, academic research papers and participant observation in agency activities. The findings contained in the case studies are perhaps too diffuse to be considered rigorous empirical facts and there is a notable and purposeful absence of statistical documentation even in the few cases where it was available. However, the combined observation, interview and research data is sufficient to substantially support the sociological analysis and interpretation of the comparative case studies.

The thesis is essentially an exploratory investigation of the field of rural development in Alberta. It is intended to generate insights and hypotheses with regard to rural development activities in the province and to relate these activities to the theory and practice of community development principles. During the field research and the interpretation the study was not rigorously structured but relied on the use of 'sensitizing concepts'<sup>13</sup> to focus on the processes and implications of resident participation in the rural development activities. The attempt to systematize and analyze social processes as complicated and fluid as those presented in the comparative case studies in rural development poses great difficulties for the researcher. In the absence of significant research reports on the Alberta experience this thesis is





based on theoretical framework derived from the field experience itself, plus analytical tools developed in researching rural programs across Canada and from several studies related to the American war on poverty. This set of analytical tools provides the general frame of reference for the examination of the three approaches to rural development.

### The Analytical Framework

For the purpose of this thesis resident participation denotes the actions of local residents designed to directly influence the form and content of an agency's rural development activities. To facilitate the examination of this dimension of rural development it is necessary to select appropriate analytical tools for pointing up the process and implications of this participation.

The comparative analysis of the resident participation dimension of rural development examines both the formal and the substantive aspects of participant activity. The findings of the case studies of the three approaches are examined within an analytical framework designed to point up both the mode and efficacy of resident participation in rural development programs. The framework clarifies the form of resident participation by the use of a four-mode typology derived from Kramer's<sup>14</sup> classification of the modes of participation of the poor in the war on poverty. The framework clarifies the substance of resident participation by the use of the eight-rung ladder typology of citizen participation developed by Arnstein.<sup>15</sup> The use of this double typology focuses the analysis on the ways that local residents participate and on the effectiveness of their participation in rural development programs in Alberta.

In Kramer's four-mode typology the resident participation dimension is simply categorized to indicate the four main ways that residents are



involved in planning and implementing rural development programs in Alberta.

Resident participation modes: (after Kramer, see Appendix A)

- A.) in policy making:--the objective is to allow representatives of the rural residents to function as members of the governing board responsible for development programs
- B.) in program development advising:--the objective is to provide feedback and improve services by consulting the residents who function as passive advisors to the agency
- C.) in social action:--the objective is to politicize the residents as a political constituency to bring pressure for specific benefits or a general redistribution of policy making power
- D.) in agency employment:--the objective is to give the residents job experience and to improve the agency's responsiveness to the local community by means of these local para-professionals.

This four mode typology is a nominal categorization of the participation dimension that illustrates fairly distinct modes or alternatives for resident involvement in agency activity. The four modes are not mutually exclusive categories although each makes distinct assumptions about the causes and cures of rural poverty and underdevelopment. These are useful descriptive categories but they provide no measure of the effective extent of resident participant influence on the decision making process.

In order to assess the substance or efficacy of resident participation in influencing rural development programs an adaptation of Arnstein's ladder of participation is employed in the thesis. The eight-level typology is an attempt to create an ordinal scale of efficacy for resident participation. It attempts to rank cases of resident participation in terms of the degree of influence and control





that the residents exert over agency activities in the rural communities.

Resident participation efficacy: (after Arnstein, see Appendix B)

- 1.) manipulation: This is an agency controlled, ritualistic level of resident participation for public relations purposes only; it is often termed 'education' by the agency staff.
- 2.) therapy: This level is also contrived and ritualistic--the objective is to 'cure' the participant of some pathology he is assumed to have.
- 3.) informing: At this level residents participate to the extent of hearing about programs; communication is one-way.
- 4.) consultation: This level permits restricted agency-community dialogue; residents are heard but need not be heeded.
- 5.) placation: This level is still tokenism but residents can get some response from the agency if they are mobilized to articulate priorities and lobby for benefits.
- 6.) partnership: At this level residents can negotiate some redistribution of power through joint structures that set the agency's terms of operation in the communities; this pact is not subject to unilateral change by the agency.
- 7.) delegated power: At this level agencies delegate power and funds to resident controlled organizations that have a contract to set up services, implement a program, or enter into another form of locally based production.
- 8.) citizen control: At this level the residents are assured the power to govern the agency itself, it is accountable to the residents of the area in terms of both policy and managerial aspects of the program, the residents can effectively resist the efforts of any outsider to alter any aspect of the program once the funds have been committed.



The use of the above efficacy scale in the thesis does not imply that the intent of the study is to rigorously measure the effective impact of resident participation on rural development in Alberta. The main advantage of using the ranking typology is that it clarifies the resident participation dimension of rural development and is a source of insights in the comparative analysis of the three approaches under examination.

The comparative analysis of the case studies is conducted by means of a comprehensive analytical framework that is a synthesis of the two typologies presented in this chapter. The combination of the Kramer and the Arnstein typologies facilitates a more thorough analysis and offers insights into the relationship between the mode and the efficacy of resident participation in rural development in Alberta.

### Limitations of the Study

It is necessary to recognize the limitations of a study that attempts to order and analyze events so diverse as the processes and consequences of rural development in Alberta. A major limitation is the diffuse and fragmented nature of the evidence available in agency files and reports on rural program activities. Further, the researcher had only limited access to data from these sources. Extensive interviews with agency officials and local participants in rural development programs provide the main source of systematically collected information on the three approaches. However, not all of the participants could be contacted and the findings of the case studies reflect the memories and perceptions of selected participants. There has been an attempt to supplement these oral and written observations with data from newspaper accounts, independent research accounts and the researcher's own inter-





pretation as a participant observer in agency activities during the field research period.

In spite of the attempts to present case studies based on the best evidence available from several sources, the evidence of the case studies is a limited representation of the actual experience of the particular agency and community involved. As is the case with most studies on the margins of hard behavioral science, the interpretations of this exploratory study must be considered feasible explanations from available information rather than rigorous inference from hard data. This study suffers the dilemma of all research on policy and action processes in society. As Marris and Rein caution in their study of American war on poverty programs: "every essay in sociological interpretation is a compromise between the need to say something to the point, before it is too late, and the need to make sure that what you say is true."<sup>16</sup> The interpretations of rural development activities in Alberta contained in this thesis are subject to the limitations of this compromise.

From another perspective the thesis inquiry is limited by the typology of approaches selected as a framework for examining rural development in Alberta. The categories outlined in Chapter II are convenient rather than comprehensive. The typology selected clarifies the area of inquiry and reduces the scope of the study to manageable proportions. It has the disadvantage of excluding some significant forces impinging on the rural development process. For example the role of the churches, private business, local government, social movements and strictly local forces are peripheral to the focus of the study. The exclusion of these forces from close scrutiny in this study is justified by the stated purpose of restricting the analysis to senior



government agency intervention in the rural development process. These other forces are considered only in their interaction with the three selected agency approaches to rural development. It is also true that some senior government activities that impinge on rural development are outside the scope of the typology--such as fiscal, monetary, employment and taxation policies--but these do not constitute agency intervention although they may be the primary determinants of the rural development process. Similarly the conventional agency services are excluded because they are defined as having maintenance rather than development functions in the community.

The above discussion indicates the major limitations and the restricted scope of the thesis inquiry at a general level. In more specific terms it is important to note that even within the restricted scope of the three interventionist approaches to rural development the study is limited by its focus on a single, although very significant, dimension of the process. By employing an analytical framework that is designed to point up the various aspects of the resident participation dimension there is a tendency for other important features to be reduced in importance and even appear excluded from the examination entirely. Again, it is not that these other factors are ignored but they are studied mostly in relation to the resident participation perspective. The economic, administrative and planning dimensions of rural development are an important part of the comparative analysis as each influences participation and is in turn strongly influenced by the forces of resident participation in the process of rural development.

But the main justification for restricting the scope of inquiry to resident participation and its interaction with the other significant





variables in the rural development process is not an academic justification. Limiting the focus of the study to a single dimension is convenient for defining a more manageable thesis subject, but the main reason for the focus on the participation dimension is that it is consistent with the researcher's primary interest in the theory and practice of community development principles in Alberta. The resident participation dimension is the pivotal point in the whole process of community development--thus it is the focus of the inquiry.



Footnotes to Chapter I

1. A. Walinsky; Review of Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, by D. P. Moynihan, New York Times Book Review, February 2, 1969.
2. D. P. Moynihan; Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, New York Free Press, 1969.
3. J. Q. Wilson; "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal" in Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXIX, No. 4, November 1963, pp. 242-249.
4. H. Goldblatt; "Arguments For and Against Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal" in Citizen Participation in Urban Development, H. B. Spiegel (Ed.), Washington, NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, Vol. I, pp. 31-42.
5. Banfield and Wilson go so far as to say that certain groups, notably the lower socio-economic classes, especially immigrant and minority communities have a private-regarding ethos which is an obstacle to action in the public interest. In this rather doubtful perspective resident participation is incompatible with rational allocation of resources. See E. C. Banfield and J. Q. Wilson; City Politics, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1963, chapter XVI.
6. P. Marris and M. Rein; Dilemmas of Social Reform, New York, Atherton Press, 1967.
7. Goodman makes the point that the increasing exclusion of citizens from meaningful participation in decisions that effect them is one of the most unhealthy trends in American society. See, P. Goodman; The Moral Ambiguity of America, Toronto, CBC, 1965.
8. E. S. and J. C. Cahn; "Citizen Participation" in H. B. C. Spiegel, op. cit., pp. 211-224.





9. G. N. Jones; Planned Organizational Change, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968, p. 122.
10. Jones; *ibid.*, pp. 204-205.
11. P. Selznick; TVA and the Grassroots, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1949.
12. Selznick; *ibid.*, p. 220.
13. Although the use of sensitizing concepts makes quantification of data impossible, Bruyn points out that this observational technique avoids the imposition of pre-determined patterns on the social phenomena being studied. This reduces, but does not eliminate, the possibility that research findings are an artifact of the methodology of the social scientist. See S. T. Bruyn; The Human Perspective in Sociology, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1966, pp. 42-44.
14. R. M. Kramer; Participation of the Poor, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1969.
15. S. R. Arnstein; "A Ladder of Citizen Participation" in the Journal of the American Institute of Planners, July 1969, pp. 216-224.
16. Marris and Rein; *op. cit.*, p. 3.



## CHAPTER II

### APPROACHES TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT

It is the intention of this chapter to present an overview of the scope and significance of rural development activity and to outline the three main patterns of development intervention that were implemented in Alberta in the past decade. For the purpose of this study a typology of three approaches to rural development is selected as a framework for the presentation of the case studies and the comparative analysis.

The three approaches selected for examination in the thesis are called the Community Development Officer [CDO] approach, the Area Development Team [ADT] approach and the Community Enterprise Development [CED] approach. Each approach in the typology is a distinct procedure for agency intervention in the rural development process in the marginal communities of Alberta. The CDO, ADT and CED approaches have a developmental orientation to the solution of rural problems and distinct patterns of operation in the community. Each approach is presented to best point up the process of local involvement in the operation of the programs and to illustrate the pattern of community response to the agency's intervention. The three approaches are compared and an attempt is made to show the relation of each approach to the total process of rural development in the province.

#### The Framework of the Study

Before proceeding with the inquiry into rural development in Alberta, it is necessary to clarify the conceptual framework of the thesis. The framework of the study is designed to assess resident participation





within the three selected approaches and relate it to the total process of rural development in Alberta. Therefore a clarification of the concept of rural development is needed.

The term rural development is used in the literature in a generalized way to refer to a broad range of activities initiated in rural areas to facilitate resource adjustment and expand social and economic opportunities. It is also used to refer to the progress of rural society toward the urban-industrial institutional forms and higher material standards of living that characterize the mainstream of Canadian society.

The ambiguity of the meaning and objectives of rural development is accentuated by the varied ways of employing the term in the literature of development. Poetschke's<sup>1</sup> discussion of rural development focuses on the economic aspect of the process and presents its objective in terms of providing opportunities for residents of depressed rural areas to participate more fully in the economic life of the nation. Sauve's<sup>2</sup> introduction to the federal-provincial rural development agreement similarly notes that it is aimed primarily at the alleviation of the serious national problem of low incomes in rural areas.

In his exploratory study of the views of various groups connected with rural development Nicholls<sup>3</sup> found three main types of objectives stated by respondents. These were:--the objective of human resources development, the objective of the proper management of natural resources and the objective of institutional change to facilitate this development. He found that one group spoke of rural development in terms of resource technology and conservation while another group spoke of education, employment mobility and rural services for the residents of depressed rural areas. Although they are not incompatible,



these split objectives create definite problems of setting priorities in the rural development process.

Although rural development may be thought of in terms of human and natural resources development, in the larger sense it is a process of institutional change. Writers such as Baker<sup>4</sup> prefer to emphasize that rural development is a process of "basic institutional reform" in rural areas. In this perspective the objective of rural development agencies is to assist the adjustment of rural institutions to the technological, economic and social forces of an affluent urban-industrial society. This view of rural development is similar to the definition of community development used by Davis.<sup>5</sup> Both discuss the development process as an evolution toward the institutional forms and social patterns of an affluent urban industrial society.

This view of rural development as the process of drawing marginal rural communities into the production and consumption patterns of mainstream institutions is made even more explicit by McCroire.<sup>6</sup> McCroire sets the objective of rural development as the "rational integration of the rural hinterland with the larger urban industrial society." He discusses rural development in the context of regional planning and notes that the industrial metropolis dominates the pattern of development in the rural hinterland. From this perspective rural development is viewed as a function of the progressively stronger impact of mainstream institutional patterns on the processes of community life in marginal rural areas. However, this is a too unilateral view of rural development. Rural development is a reciprocal influence process as the rural institutions work out a new, more viable relation to the larger society.





Another valuable perspective on rural development is that of Lyons<sup>7</sup> who views it as the process of institutionalizing a new type of decision making in rural communities. He notes that the effectiveness of rural development programs is dependent upon the capacity of the marginal community to function in terms of the type of decision making model that is being imposed on it by the senior government agency. From Lyon's perspective the rural development process mainly consists of an evolution of new forms of participation and decision making in the rural society.

Lyons observes that methods of decision making based on notions of informality, non-professionalization and minimal rationalization must be replaced with patterns based on the universalistic norms, rationalistic assumptions and bureaucratic procedures that characterize the larger urban industrial society. This view recognizes that agency officials tend to view the ad hoc groupings and the informal decision processes of rural communities as deviant patterns that must be changed in the rural development process so that rural people can participate effectively and take advantage of social and economic opportunities available in the larger society. This is a variation of the view that rural development is essentially an adjustment of rural patterns and institutions to accomodate to the conditions of the affluent urban industrial society.

This short review of development literature indicates the diverse interpretations of the meaning and objectives of rural development in Canada. It is variously interpreted as an undirected process of social evolution; or as the planned and guided process of societal change in rural areas. In either case the scope of the process ranges from the broad historical trend, to general planned institutional reform and to specific aspects such as higher per capita productivity and improved



material standards of living.

From this broad outline it is necessary to clarify the meaning and objectives of rural development as it is employed in this analysis. This study uses rural development in the sense of planned change and in its narrower scope rather than as a broad process of social evolution. For the purpose of this thesis rural development denotes the process of agency intervention in rural society aimed at stimulating more effective rural institutions and improving material standards of living.

This conception of rural development is based on the premise that the challenge of rural poverty, social injustice and regional disparity requires the active intervention of senior government agencies for the effective solution of rural problems in Canada. It assumes that there will be adjustment in the social and economic institutions of rural areas as they more effectively participate in the larger urban industrial society.

It should be noted that this conception of rural development does not restrict itself to agency activities in the agricultural communities of rural Canada. In this sense the term rural refers to communities and regions beyond the immediate proximity of major metropolitan areas in Canada. Further, rural development includes intensive industrial expansion in regional growth centres that have potential for primary, secondary and service industries based on the resources and markets of the rural region. Rural development is not conceived of as a way to the solution of rural problems within the limitations of the rural way of life. It attempts to establish the pre-conditions for a more effective rural community response to the forces of social, economic and technological change in the larger society.



Within the general framework of this orientation toward rural development, it is the purpose of this study to examine three selected approaches that rural development agencies have followed in rural Alberta. The three approaches share a common orientation to the problems of rural development. Each operates on the premise that the agency must penetrate effectively into the processes of community life in order to facilitate the development of more self-sufficient and productive communities. Each of these agency approaches operates on a senior government mandate to actively intervene in rural areas with programs aimed at resource development, institutional change and expanded opportunities for rural residents to reduce the social and economic disparities in Canada.

It is this interventionist orientation that contrasts these three developmental approaches to the more passive caretaking and maintenance orientation of conventional social agencies. The developmental orientation of the three approaches may be considered an active attempt to extend the opportunity structure and mobilize the marginal rural communities to fuller participation in the production and consumption processes of the mainstream society.

But within this interventionist orientation of the process of rural development each of the three approaches has distinctive assumptions, priorities, modes of operation and implications for rural society. In order to outline the typology of approaches chosen for this study it is necessary to clarify the concept of an approach to rural development. The concept of approach is used to indicate the general means by which an interaction pattern or link is established between the change agency and the rural community. This definition of approach follows that of Saram<sup>8</sup> in his use of approach as an analytical concept.





The three approaches examined in this study are selected for their convenience in facilitating description and analysis of rural development programs in Alberta. The typology is not chosen for the rigor of its conceptualization but for the degree to which its categories fit the activities of agencies in the province. The three approaches are not mutually exclusive categories of agency interaction with rural communities, rather they are often implemented in conjunction with each other within the same agency or program. At the field level of implementation there are similarities in strategies, tactics, techniques and procedures among the three approaches, but at a more general level each approach has a distinctive interaction pattern in its relation to the rural community. The basis for the typology is that each approach has a unique pattern of intervention and a distinct process for establishing the relationship between the government agency and the rural community. It follows that within each approach the processes and consequences of rural development form distinctive patterns in the rural community. It is on the basis of these unique forms of agency intervention and these distinctive patterns of rural development in the community that the three approaches are used as analytical concepts in this study.

For the purpose of this thesis it is considered that the CDO approach, the ADT approach and the CED approach constitute identifiable and separate patterns of rural development activity in the province. The three approaches are not completely comprehensive and cannot subsume all rural development activities of agencies in Alberta. However, most of the agency activity may be described and analyzed within the framework of these three approaches.



## The Community Development Officer Approach

The CDO approach is primarily defined in terms of its individual practitioner form of agency intervention and its intensive focus on the process of local resident involvement in rural development activities. Usually a single professional practitioner is assigned to work with a rural community on the basis of a request submitted from some group in the community. The practitioner is usually a generalist with human relations skills who relates to all aspects of community life. He is primarily committed to the process of local initiative and motivation for human development rather than to the delivery of client services and technical programs in the area. It is significant that the practitioner's interaction in the community is usually informal and as an active participant in contrast to the formal and bureaucratic procedures of conventional agency activity.

An important aspect of the community-agency linkage in this approach is that the agency intervention is indirect in that the field practitioner is on contract to the community through the agency and identifies closely with the rural community. In some sense the practitioner of this approach is an advocate and consultant of the community rather than a representative of a government agency.

A basic assumption of the CDO approach is that the rural poor can overcome their dependency only by effective and self-responsible social action as a community. The practitioner is concerned to stimulate the local processes of self-help and effective decision making in the community rather than with the delivery of agency services.

9

Following these assumptions the Biddles define community development as a "social process by which people become more competent" to live





effectively in their changing world. In a similar manner Whitford<sup>10</sup> notes that this approach is primarily an "educational-motivational process" by which a community of people becomes more effective in its public relationships. Sanders<sup>11</sup> notes that this approach has two pivotal ideas--the first is that of conscious acceleration of technological, economic and social change and the second is the idea of locality. The acceleration and perhaps the guidance of change is an idea common to all approaches to rural development but the idea of locality and the emphasis on locally initiated and locally carried out projects and social action is unique to this approach. There are various interpretations of how intense the localism of this approach should be, but the approach is generally characterized by its focus on processes of personal and group development within the rural community itself.

The CDO approach outlined here is similar to the Inner Resources approach designated by Ross<sup>12</sup> in his discussion of various conceptions of community work. He notes that as needs and priorities are defined within the local community there may be inputs of assistance from the outside agencies. However, the emphasis is on locally developed solutions to locally perceived problems. The actual solution of a problem is less important than the development of the people's capacity to solve the problem or implement the project. This approach emphasizes that the choice for and the direction of change should be internal to the client community.

It should be noted that the CDO approach includes more than the Inner Resources approach outlined above. The approach conceptualized here includes assumptions about the need for institutional adjustment and a redistribution of effective power in the social system. The



departmental publication of the Alberta government<sup>13</sup> which describes community development activities in the province states that the purpose is to assist people to improve their social and economic situation vis-a-vis the rest of society and to enable them to act effectively in their own interest. The nature of this institutional adjustment is clarified by Albert<sup>14</sup> who operationalizes community development as the harmonious combination of local human resources with the human and technical resources of the larger society. He adds that the client community must be able to assert its choices in the matter of this evolving combination. From this perspective it is clear that the primary concern of this approach is the stimulation of more effective community institutions as a pre-requisite to other aspects of the rural development process.

Further insight into the operation of the CDO approach to rural development is provided by comparing it to the Participant Change Agent approach to planned change that was formulated by Saram.<sup>15</sup> He differentiates this approach from other approaches to planned change in that the agency practitioner actually participates in the change process that occurs. As a result of being a participant in the change process the practitioner is obliged to exemplify change in the client community. Saram<sup>16</sup> observes that in this approach the field practitioner enjoys that status of group identity in the client community and there is a sense of identity between the agency practitioner and the client community. He also notes<sup>17</sup> that the practitioner is subject to the social control of the client community as well as the formal bureaucratic control of the agency administration. Thus the practitioner is simultaneously accountable to each under this system of dual control. Saram<sup>18</sup> maintains that the effectiveness of this approach is derived from the Participant Change Agent's identification with the community



which permits him to identify and remedy sources of resistance to change because he is not so much perceived as an outsider by the people he works with in the community. The particular type of linkage established between the agency and the community in this approach has the feature of making the change agency staff in some sense democratically responsible to the community that is the recipient of intervention.

There are similarities between the Agent Participation approach and the CDO approach used in Alberta during the last decade. The intent of the introductory outline here is to indicate that the CDO approach to rural development involves the active participation of the practitioner in community processes at the local level. It is significant that this mode of intervention requires a close identification between the practitioner and the community.

Another important feature is that provision of technical services to the client community is not an integral component of this approach. The agency intervenes to provide an enabling function in the community to facilitate the linking up of the rural clientele to those services--technical, financial and perhaps political--that the client community requires as it evolves. In this context it is noted that the objectives of the agencies using the CDO approach are stated both in terms of enabling rural clients to 'plug in' more effectively to services and opportunities available; and in terms of the stimulation of more viable rural responses to the imperative need for adjustment to the social, economic and technological forces of the mainstream institutions.

#### The Area Development Team Approach

The ADT approach is another form of agency intervention in the rural





development process in the marginal rural communities of Alberta. The operative instrument of this approach is a multi-disciplinary group of civil servants with a government mandate to initiate rural development activity in a designated area of rural poverty. The Area Development Team is responsible for rural development in several communities, perhaps a whole region, and carries a government mandate to coordinate the programs and the services of all agencies related to rural development.

This form of agency intervention in the rural development process places heavy emphasis on the expertise and services of existing government departments and agencies. The Team usually consists of representatives of the government agencies most directly involved in the rural development process. This approach assumes that evolving the correct mix of agency services and programs and making the most efficient use of government and local resources is the key vehicle for attaining the objectives of rural development.

The mandate for this form of rural development intervention requires that the Team, which is usually based in a strategically located growth centre in the region, take the initiative in the consultation with the rural community to determine needs and formulate plans for rural development. The Team functions as a link between the government and the rural communities. It is also the linkage between the various agencies that are expected to cooperate in the rural development thrust. The Team consults the communities of the area through existing local organizations and through resident groups. This consultation often occurs within local structures, especially formed for the purpose of joint agency-community identification of needs, planning of programs and implementation of these programs.



The changing pattern of Team-resident consultation as the program evolves is noted by Poetschke<sup>19</sup> who notes that the Team carries out social animation to organize the rural community which later takes a more active part in the planning and implementation of the rural development program. For this reason a community development component is usually built into the Team to work closely with the more technically oriented members of the Team to plan and implement a comprehensive program in the area.

In his discussion of the ADT approach Richards<sup>20</sup> observes that the coordination of agency services is the crucial element in such a multi-disciplinary effort to stimulate rural development. He stresses the key role of the Team coordinator is assuring the effective and harmonious functioning of the diverse elements of the Team. There are some critical difficulties in obtaining this smooth functioning. The difficulty in getting cooperation between the social and the physical scientists is noted by Sterling<sup>21</sup>; and Watts<sup>22</sup> notes that there was little tangible benefit from some programs under the Rural Area Development legislation in the United States because the interagency panels or teams could not act in concert.

The most useful overview of the operation of the Team approach in Canada is provided by McCroire's description and evaluation of rural development planning under the ARDA legislation.<sup>23</sup> He comments<sup>24</sup> that the minimum function of government planning under the federal-provincial Rural Development Agreement is to coordinate existing programs of government. This is pre-requisite to federal assistance for rural development in the provinces. At best, this coordination attempts to re-direct the energies and activities of existing government machinery along lines that are more effective for achieving rural





development objectives. In a more critical vein, McCroire<sup>25</sup> points to the inadequacy of an approach that limits itself to the coordination of existing programs. He notes that rural poverty and resource maladjustment exist in spite of conventional government activity and the simple device of coordinating present services and programs is only a partial solution to the problems. This perspective points to the role of the Team as both an innovator and a coordinator in the rural development process.

One of the most significant features of the ADT approach is that it is associated with research-based comprehensive rural development programs involving substantial inputs of funds, expertise and services aimed at areas with widespread low incomes, major adjustment problems and recognized development potential. This approach is outlined in Part VI of the 1965-70 Federal-Provincial Rural Development Agreement.<sup>26</sup>

The approach outlined in this legislation calls for extensive physical, social and economic research as a necessary pre-requisite to rural development activity. It includes provisions for the involvement of local people in the identification of needs in planning and in implementation of the programs. The Act requires that a team of experts draw up a comprehensive plan to increase income and employment opportunities and raise standards of living in the rural area.

One of the most elaborate and comprehensive examples of this multi-disciplinary approach to basic research, participative planning and co-ordinated implementation was the case of the pilot region in eastern Quebec.<sup>27</sup> This case was a variation of the Team approach in that the plan was the product of the work of a government supported group, the Bureau d'Amenagement de l'Est du Quebec (BAEQ), rather than of the government civil service. However, it exemplifies the



Team approach in the scope of its work, its emphasis on research, planning and coordination of programs aimed at the development of the total resources in a regional rather than in a local context. It was parallel to the Team approach in emphasizing the decentralization of decision making and the concentration of development inputs in the growth centres to obtain efficient allocation of resources.

In order to further clarify the operation of this approach, it is necessary to outline the pattern of interaction between the agency and the community. It is significant that members of the Team are clearly identified as representatives of the government and local residents relate to them on this rather formal basis. Although the Team may have substantial administrative discretion that permits responsiveness to local preferences on minor issues, the Team is firmly within the government administration and firmly accountable to officials in the central offices. This clear identification of the Team as a government group places the members at some psychological distance from their rural clientele and establishes formal and bureaucratic patterns of interaction between the agency and the rural community. The focus of the Team's planning and coordination activity is more inter-agency than intra-community. This mode of intervention and linkage to the community limits the degree of penetration into local community processes and reduces the agency staff's commitment to the peculiar local perspective of marginal rural communities.

### The Community Enterprise Development Approach

The third typology to be outlined in this chapter is the CED approach to rural development in Alberta. This is a less intensive



form of outside intervention in local community processes than that of the CDO approach. It is less agency introverted and coordination conscious than the ADT approach. This third approach emphasizes that rural institutions are capable of a viable adjustment in response to external forces if the communities are offered more equal opportunity and incentives to initiate and implement local social and economic development.

The CED approach essentially consists of government agency intervention in the form of initial, and often continuing, inputs of financial and expert assistance to locally controlled economic or social enterprises in the rural community. The distinguishing feature of this approach is that the agency linkage is with independently functioning community organizations. The initiation and operation of these organizations, which may pursue either economic or social objectives for its local members, often requires extensive agency support, but this approach dictates that activities are carried out by formally autonomous organizations.

The main pattern of this approach in Alberta has been agency intervention with subsidies and technical assistance to groups in rural communities who wish to establish producer or consumer cooperatives and similar assistance to resident associations oriented toward economic development or service provision in rural society. This approach to rural development establishes a pattern of agency-community interaction in which the agency makes investment of funds and expertise in support of local structures with potential as effective rural institutions and immediate benefits in terms of local employment, improved incomes and physical and human resources development.





In Alberta this intervention approach to rural development has mainly involved establishing these community enterprises as instruments of local capitalism. Much of the agency activity has focussed on Native communities where the enterprise is supported by the government on the assumption that red capitalism is a viable pathway for the Native people's self-chosen integration into the larger society.

The CED approach in Alberta has been used to assist in the formation of local economic enterprises capable of effectively implementing primary resource development programs in agriculture and forestry. The local enterprise, either a cooperative or association, is utilized as a local economic instrument into which the agency channels funds and expertise. The objectives are improved incomes for rural residents, effective exploitation of natural resources and social development.

This approach to rural development in Alberta varies slightly from the pattern followed by the cooperative extension activities of the Antigonish movement in Nova Scotia. From the perspective taken by Smyth<sup>28</sup> the community enterprise is "primarily an educational tool" and only secondarily a viable economic structure. He notes that the Antigonish approach regards the cooperative enterprise as an instrument through which people learn how to analyze their problems, how to work together effectively and how to organize businesslike structures to meet their needs. Although the CED approach is substantially similar in its use of the enterprise as a mechanism of rural development, the Alberta agencies have given first priority to economic objectives and secondary emphasis to the educational and social considerations of this approach.<sup>29</sup>

The Alberta experience with Community Enterprise Development has not been restricted to the cooperative structure as a vehicle for rural



development. Several of the enterprises established on the basis of this approach are nonprofit associations legally constituted under the Societies Act. The exact organizational form selected for the community enterprise is related to the particular circumstances of the rural development process.

A variant form of this approach to rural development is the formation of the three provincial Native associations during the last decade. These organizations operate on a much larger scale than most of the enterprises that result from this form of agency intervention. However, the pattern of financial and technical support for these groups as instruments of social and economic development in rural areas determines that they should be considered within this approach to rural development.

### Summary of Approaches

In concluding this chapter a capsule review of the three types of intervention will permit a comparison of the approaches as an introduction to the descriptive case studies of each operation in the following chapters.

In summary, the CDO approach consists of the intervention of an individual practitioner on a long-term basis in the rural community. There is a system of dual control over this intervention in that the practitioner is accountable to both the local community and agency. Generally this approach requires that the practitioner be more closely identified with the community than with the agency of government. This approach is based on localism and dictates that rural development activity be of a nature that is essentially locally initiated and





locally implemented. This approach is primarily concerned with stimulating more effective rural institutions that support the evolution of a more self-determining community. Subsequently this approach assumes that this permits a more effective institutional adjustment with the larger society and higher material standards of living.

The ADT approach may be summarized by reviewing the significant features of this mode of intervention in the rural development process. The Team is a multi-disciplinary group of agency professionals with a broad mandate to initiate rural development activities in the rural area and coordinate government programs and services toward the end of a total resources approach to rural development. The Team initiates a process of consultation with the local communities to formally involve them in the decisions related to rural development. The Team is the communication and coordination link between the local communities and the higher levels of policy-makers. The Team may be administratively responsible or simply charged with the coordination of substantial inputs of funds, services and expertise aimed at increasing employment and income opportunities and improving material standards of living in the rural area. Another important feature of the Team approach is the close identification of intervention agency staff with the senior government. This mode of intervention leaves the agency staff substantially accountable to the government and to universalistic criteria of formal bureaucratic procedure. The Team has limited administrative discretion to respond to any particularistic orientation of the rural communities.

The CED approach may be briefly summarized by clarifying the essential features of this mode of agency intervention. The approach involves initial and follow-through agency support for independently



functioning community organizations aimed at economic and social development in rural communities. The agency inputs are in terms of investments of funds and expertise to assist the emergence of a viable local structure for locally controlled rural development. The enterprise is accountable to its membership and its activities are limited only by the legal and financial requirements of the larger society. It is not directly accountable and not dependent on the intervention agency that assists in its operation. The CED approach focuses on both rural development objectives of building more effective rural institutions and more immediately improving material standards of living in the rural society. As an approach to rural development this mode of agency intervention is most often used in conjunction with other agency approaches to rural development.

The CDO, ADT, and CED approaches have in common their basic assumption of the need for developmental intervention in marginal rural communities to expand social and economic opportunities for the residents. The distinctions between each approach that are made in the typology are based on divergent patterns of operation in the implementation of the programs. It should be noted, however, that the three approaches are not mutually exclusive or incompatible modes of intervention.

In order to compare the three approaches, without making the typology overly rigid and formalized, it is useful to note some points of divergence. The ADT approach is based on universalistic criteria and modes of decision while the CDO and the CED approaches tend toward particularistic criteria and strengthen the forces of cultural pluralism. The CDO approach intervenes with a single practitioner while the ADT approach involves a team of experts at the



agency level. The CED approach involves any number of resource people who supply expertise but are peripheral to the actual operation of the rural development process. The ADT approach views disparity and institutional injustice as a basically technical problem to be solved by research, planning and rational coordination. The CDO approach sees disparity and injustice in a more political perspective and seeks the solution in improving the effectiveness of local institutions. The CED approach shares some of each perspective and views the marginal communities as disadvantaged elements in a competitive social system, thus in need of compensatory assistance to improve the balance of social and economic opportunities between the marginal and mainstream elements of the society.

The three chapters of case studies that follow are illustrative of these and other points of divergence in the three modes of intervention for rural development. It is significant the ADT approach's accent on coordination often creates tension in the rural community when it goes contrary to the more localistic preferences of the CDO and the CED approaches. Similarly, the strong technical and even technocratic solution offered by the ADT approach is not fully compatible with the compensatory policies and cultural pluralism tendencies of the CED approach to rural problems.

However, in spite of the divergent diagnoses and remedies that follow from the three approaches there has been some attempt to integrate rural development efforts in the province, especially during the latter part of the decade. It is too early to assess the effectiveness of this attempt, or even to observe its influence on the resident participation dimension of the rural development process. But the illustrative case studies in the next three





chapters, and the comparative analysis of them provide the basis for an interpretive assessment of local involvement in rural development programs.



Footnotes to Chapter II

1. L. E. Poetschke; Regional Planning for Depressed Rural Areas, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968, p. 12.
2. Department of Forestry and Rural Development; Federal-Provincial Rural Development Agreement (ARDA), Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1967, p. 3.
3. W. M. Nicholls; Views on Rural Development in Canada, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968, p. 55.
4. W. B. Baker; "The Development Matrix: A Post-Symposium Interpretation" in Rehabilitation and the Rural Development Matrix, W. B. Baker (Editor), Saskatoon, Centre for Community Studies, 1965, p. 115.
5. A. K. Davis; "Comments on the Erasmus Paper" in Human Organization, Spring, 1968.
6. J. N. McCroire; ARDA: An Experiment in Development Planning, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1969, p. 97.
7. W. E. Lyons; "Social and Political Considerations in Economic Development" in Stimulants to Social Development in Slow Growing Regions, G. R. Winter and W. B. Rogers (Eds), Alberta Department of Agriculture, 1966, pp. 89-90.
8. P. A. S. Saram; A Sociological Analysis of Agent Participation as an Approach to Planned Change, unpublished M.A. Thesis, U of A, Fall, 1969, p. 10.
9. W. W. and L. J. Biddle; The Community Development Process, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1965, p. 78.
10. J. R. Whitford; "Toward a More Restricted Definition of Community Development", unpublished draft paper, 1969, p. 8.
11. I. T. Sanders; "Community Development" in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 4, MacMillan-Free Press, 1968, p. 169.





12. M. G. Ross; Community Organization, New York, Harper and Row, 1967, pp. 14-15.
13. Government of Alberta; "What is the Department of Industry and Development?", Edmonton, November, 1964.
14. J. R. Albert; "Community Development in Alberta", Human Resources Development Authority, Edmonton, 1970, p. 5.
15. Saram; op. cit., pp. 29-30.
16. Saram; op. cit., pp. 57-62.
17. Saram; op. cit., pp. 62-65.
18. Saram; op. cit., pp. 69-70.
19. Poetschke; op. cit., p. 5.
20. L. Richards; "Change and the Media", a paper presented to the Banff Conference, February 1970, U. of Calgary, p. 12.
21. G. R. Sterling; "Cooperation Between Physical and Social Scientists" in Winter and Rogers (Eds), op. cit., pp. 59-60.
22. L. H. Watts; "Inter-Agency Cooperation as Applied to Social and Economic Development in Slow Growing Areas", in Winter and Rogers (Eds), op. cit., p. 55.
23. McCroire; op. cit.,
24. McCroire; op. cit., pp. 28-29.
25. McCroire; op. cit., p. 64.
26. Department of Forestry and Rural Development; Federal-Provincial Rural Development Agreement, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1967, pp. 19-20.
27. Department of Forestry and Rural Development; Development Plan for the Pilot Region: Lower St. Lawrence, Gaspé, and Îles-de-la-Madeleine, Ottawa, 1967.
28. F. J. Smyth; "The Development of the Antigonish Movement" in Convergence, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1969, p. 64.



29. This assessment is based on the fact that Alberta did not initiate its cooperative development officer service until late in the decade; and the fact that no financial inputs in the form of educational grants were provided to cooperatives.



## CHAPTER III

### THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT OFFICER APPROACH

The Community Development Officer approach to rural development has been clarified in the previous chapter of the thesis. It was noted that the significant features of this mode of agency intervention are the agency's long term commitment of an individual practitioner to a local community, priority on inputs of human relations skills rather than technical aid, the close identification of the practitioner with local community, the accent on stimulation of local initiative and involvement and the priority on evolving more effective rural institutions. The purpose of the agency intervention in the rural community is the stimulation of an educational-motivational process for the rediscovery of local initiative. Only indirectly is this process related to the delivery of programs and services to the local community. The process of resident participation in the community is the crucial dimension of this approach.

The objective of this chapter is to present several descriptive case studies of the operation of this approach in the province. These case studies illustrate the pattern of interaction between the practitioner and the community and point up the process of resident participation in the activities. It is not claimed that the selected case studies are a random cross-section of this province's experience with the Community Development Officer approach. The cases are, however, illustrative and representative of the functioning of this approach in the project rural communities of Alberta.

The CDO approach to rural development in Alberta mainly functions under the auspices of the Community Development Branch of the provincial





government. There are two agencies of the federal government--the Company of Young Canadians and Alberta Newstart--whose activities in northern rural communities are partly within this typology. But the main focus of these case studies is the operations of the provincial Community Development Branch since its inception in 1964 under a federal-provincial shared cost arrangement.

The descriptive case studies presented in this chapter are necessarily sketchy in terms of specific details. Each of the case studies has been constructed from accessible materials and unstructured personal interviews with selected participants. An attempt has been made to present the relevant incidents of each case to point up the pattern of interaction and process of resident participation without misrepresenting the actual events of the case. The case studies clearly indicate the diversity of practitioner styles and community responses possible within the CDO approach to rural development.

### The Fort McMurray Case

The provincial Community Development Branch appointed its first community development officer to the Fort McMurray community on August 1, 1964. The CDO<sup>1</sup> was a member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who was loaned to the Branch for the period of his contract of service in the Fort McMurray area. The CDO was a permanent resident of the town of Fort McMurray during his term of service with the community.

Fort McMurray was a rapidly growing<sup>2</sup> and changing rural community during this time under the impact of industrialization and rapid economic development. The town of Fort McMurray is the growth centre



of the area of the Athabasca Tar Sands which contain tremendous reserves of recoverable petroleum.<sup>3</sup> The first extensive commercial exploitation of these resources had just commenced and the problems and opportunities of an influx of outside capital, personnel and other influences formed the context of the CDO's period of activity in the community.

A substantial portion of the population of the Fort McMurray community are of Indian ancestry.<sup>4</sup> For the Native people of the area especially the period of this case study was a time of rapid transition from an isolated, rural way of life to a way of life strongly influenced by the forces of urbanization and industrialization in the larger society. The operations of the various companies in the area aimed at constructing the industry and the related infrastructure provided employment opportunities previously unavailable to the Native community. It was in this context of rapid industrialization that the CDO entered Fort McMurray in 1964.

Most of the activity of the Fort McMurray CDO was aimed at enabling local Native people to effectively take advantage of the employment opportunities created by the opening of the Athabasca Tar Sands operations. The CDO reported<sup>5</sup> that his function, especially in the initial period of his service, was concentrated on developing a favourable atmosphere between the employers on the petroleum project and the local Native employees.

During the early phase of the project the CDO followed an active strategy of intervention in the employer-Native relationship to facilitate communication and achieve a mutual understanding of the situation. He actively assisted Native workmen in locating, obtaining and retaining employment with the project. The employers had no



effective outreach mechanism to seek out and recruit Native workers although they were generally willing to hire them if pressured by the Native community with the support of the CDO. The CDO found that he had to take an active and directive role in assisting the process of Native employment both because of the resistance of the big companies and because of the hesitation of the Native population to press for the available jobs. The Native workmen had limited experience and lacked self-confidence under the rapidly changing circumstances of employment in the area. With both these forces working against the process of Native recruitment the CDO became overtly involved in locating, counselling and dispatching Native workmen to available jobs. He actively pressured employers to stand by their original commitment to employ local Native workers and acted as an advocate on their behalf. He reported that he was directly involved in obtaining employment for about one hundred Native people in the initial eighteen months.<sup>6</sup>

After an initial period during which the CDO was almost constantly intervening in the Native recruitment process he began to phase himself out of this middle-man role in the employer-Native employee relationship. The CDO encouraged the Native people to seek out jobs for themselves and to assist each other in obtaining employment. For the duration of his service period there was a substantial portion of Native workmen employed in the company operations although the CDO was no longer directly involved in the recruitment process. He reported that in the later phase of his work he was seldom called by either the employer or the employees with regard to recruitment.

A second major concern of the Fort McMurray CDO was with the working conditions of the work crews in some of the camps at the





company operations. He reported<sup>7</sup> that he intervened in the case of a construction company that was subjecting its Indian and Metis work crew to very poor conditions in a tent camp at an isolated road building site. The men were required to work ten hours a day for seven days of the week. Each man was required to purchase and cook his own food. They could get food only by ordering through a company supply vehicle. There were no beds, tables, chairs, wash basins and no stove so the men were expected to cook their food over an open fire after a full day's work on the project.

The CDO contacted company officials to inform them of the poor working conditions of the Native crews. The official in charge of the camp had no sympathy for the crew and informed them that the company was out there to make money not for social development. The official complained that the Native workmen were creating trouble on the road construction project. The CDO contacted other officials of the company who were prepared to admit that the working conditions of the camp were deplorable. They said they could not get non-Native people to work under such difficult conditions. The officials agreed to change the situation. They promised to set up a kitchen and hire a cook for the camp but they did not effectively carry out this promise as the CDO found out in a follow-up check. He subsequently contacted a senior official of the company who visited the project but even after this the company was slow to act to vacate the camp and provide transportation for crews.

The CDO noted that the company officials attempted to justify their treatment of the Native workers by pointing out that only Native people could be employed to clear bush in an area inaccessible by vehicle. However, the foreman on the job who was non-Native commuted



in and out with a vehicle as he refused to stay in the camp. Following the exposure of the working conditions to senior company officials some changes were made. However, the project official directly concerned refused to talk to the CDO and avoided cooperation in the development of employment for Native people on the project.

Other cases of the CDO's intervention in the Fort McMurray employment situation are concerned with the operation of the employee unions on the project. He actively intervened in an illegal strike situation to consult with some Native employees who did not understand the implications of leaving their jobs due to the misunderstanding.

Another case of the CDO's involvement in the Native workers' problems with labour unions occurred in 1965. A Native who had been working effectively as a Cat skinner on a non-union job was reduced to a flunky when the tractor was changed to another job at the same camp that required a union member. The Native Cat skinner finally quit in disgust when he was asked to scrub floors in the camp. At this point the CDO intervened with pressure on the company and the union and assisted the local Cat skinner to become a member of the union and commence work on the tractor immediately.

The previous cases indicate the Fort McMurray CDO's experience in the field of employer-employee relations and the problems of discrimination in the recruitment and working situations. Although much of his attention was devoted to the employment aspects of Native community development the CDO participated in all aspects of community life in Fort McMurray. He especially functioned as a liaison between the Native and non-Native segments of the community.

The CDO was involved as a resource person for the organization and operation of Native groups in Fort McMurray. He worked with the



Nistawoyow Association, the Nistawoyow Housing Cooperative and the Native Handicraft Club. The local Indian and Metis people participated in these groups as a means of increasing social and economic opportunities for themselves.

The Native Housing Cooperative was formed in October 1964 with an all Native--both Indian and Metis--Board of Directors. This organization gave the people a chance to be effectively involved in the planning and development of their own housing plans and to construct their own modern homes in Fort McMurray. The Native group rejected an Alberta Commercial Corporation loan officer's suggestion that they build cheap houses for themselves. They obtained funds to construct the homes in accordance with their own wishes.<sup>8</sup>

It is significant that the Native communities of the Fort McMurray area had extremely limited participation in formal organizations of any kind before the initiation of the community development approach in 1964. With the stimulation, encouragement and advice of the CDO the Native people undertook various self-help and community improvement projects through these new organizations. The CDO noted that the Indian and Metis groups' experience with the planning and construction of their own fully modern homes and their active participation in the cultural affairs of Fort McMurray gave them a generally more confident attitude toward the larger society.

The activities of the CDO did not eliminate discrimination against Natives in the employment and social situations of the Fort McMurray community. The activity, and ofte merely the presence, of the CDO enabled the Native people to develop more effective ways of dealing with these problems. There were situations where the CDO was discriminated against and ostracized because of his close





identification with the interests of the Native people. Employers and citizens sometimes complained to him that 'your Indians' were causing difficulty on the job or in the community.

In addition to his intervention in the employment situation and his supportive role in Native organizations the CDO reported that he spent much of his time on the problems that other government agencies caused for Native people.<sup>9</sup> He found that much of his time was spent in political fighting with Indian Affairs, the Department of Forestry, the National Employment Service and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in the Fort McMurray area. Most of the officials of these government agencies were not on speaking terms with the CDO during the period of his work in the community. In his role as an advocate for the interests of the Native people he found himself in conflict with many other government agencies. They complained that the CDO was interfering with their particular areas of jurisdiction and resented his activity.<sup>10</sup> In other cases the CDO reported<sup>11</sup> that government and civic officials were very cooperative in their relations with him. The CDO's main complaint<sup>12</sup> was that most of the civil servants were more concerned with projects than with people. He said they used people rather than being of use to them. He complained that the civil servants became dictators of government policy rather than interpreters of government policy. In this context the CDO mainly functioned as an ombudsman and devil's advocate to enable the Native people to more effectively deal with the larger society. Although the CDO did not restrict his activities to Native groups he found that in the process of dealing with government and corporation personnel he became more and more alienated from the non-Native majority in Fort McMurray.



Another incident that illustrates the role of the CDO was his intervention in a Native workers demonstration on August 17, 1966. The CDO encouraged the workers to state their grievances to the employer but he cautioned them against marching and blocking off the main bridge in Fort McMurray. However, the Native workmen were frustrated by discrimination on the job and the company's failure to honour the local hiring preference it was committed to. The Native workers demonstrated and the CDO functioned as a trusted intermediary in resolving the difficulty. He reported that the demonstration had not been well organized and its success limited but it indicated the increased courage of Natives in relation to the larger society of Fort McMurray.

One of the most important social mechanisms of the community development process in Fort McMurray was the Indian and Metis Nistawoyow Association. Although the Association faced leadership difficulties, especially in the initial stages of operation, it was an effective vehicle for the participation of Native residents of the area. It was able to function as a pressure group to induce outside employers, including the government, to employ more Natives. It held community meetings to discuss the problems of Indian and Metis communities that were forced to adjust to the rapid industrialization of the economic system of the area.

The CDO had been instrumental in the development of the Nistawoyow Association and he cooperated with its leaders to improve its activities in the area. The CDO often used the group as an instrument for bringing about changes in policies and programs of private and public employers in the area. He reported that the non-Native community perceived the group to be more influential than it actually was among



the Native community and this enabled the Nistawoyow Natives to improve the condition of the Native people by exerting pressure to insure that Natives obtained substantial benefits from the economic development of the area. However, the high level of Native employment was not sustained after the initial boom period.

In order to facilitate the CDO's work with the Native groups and with Native employees, the Branch hired two Natives to function as field workers in the Fort McMurray communities. The Native workers were especially assigned to take over the trouble shooting role from the CDO in matters relating to the employer-Native situation. This prepared the community for the CDO's departure from Fort McMurray after the third year of service.

#### The Slave Lake Case

The provincial Community Development Branch assigned a CDO to the Slave Lake project area on December 1, 1964.<sup>14</sup> The CDO resided in the town of Slave Lake with his family and worked with the community for eighteen months. He was then transferred to another project area of the agency.

The CDO spent the initial phase of his activity meeting Native and non-Native members of the community and establishing a working relationship with them. He introduced himself to the community leaders, to government officials and to representatives of industry in the area. He conducted a house to house survey of the community, working casually and informally to identify himself and obtain insights into the immediate concerns of the people of the area. This gave the CDO a preliminary impression of the physical, social and economic dimensions of life in the community.





The CDO reported<sup>15</sup> that Slave Lake was a disorganized boom town based on recent petroleum exploration investments and resource development activity. The community was growing rapidly and faced serious problems associated with its rapid, unplanned economic development. He noted that the community had increased from 450 to 1350 in one year. One consequence of this mushrooming population in the area was that the Native people had gone through a transition from a majority to a minority in the community. A substantial portion of the people of the area are of Indian ancestry.<sup>16</sup> The CDO reported<sup>17</sup> that the Native segment of Slave Lake was becoming a socially and economically deprived minority in a time of expanding opportunity.

This Native segment of the population particularly was faced with chronic problems of minimal housing, low incomes, social disorganization, lack of employment skills and low levels of aspiration. Senior officials of the Community Development Branch had visited the community prior to the appointment of the CDO and some preliminary work had been done with a group that was interested in forming a housing cooperative. When the CDO entered the community in 1964 there were only ten Native people that participated in any secular organization in the area.

It was in this context that the CDO attempted to initiate the community development process in the Slave Lake community. Most of the CDO's activity during the first year was related to stimulation and support of several organizations in the area. He actively participated in the activities of both the Native and the non-Native segments of the community on the assumption that he could not relate effectively solely to the Native people.<sup>18</sup>

The CDO participated in the activities of the Lesser Slave Lake Water Level Control and Development Association. This group was a



specific response to the threat of flooding in the spring of 1965 but at a more general level the CDO observed<sup>19</sup> that 'the lake touched on every conceivable aspect of the economy' and the group's intention was to find means to develop its resources. The Association had a membership of sixty which was drawn from several communities around the Lake. It prepared and presented a brief to the provincial government and met with officials to discuss a planned economic survey of the area. The CDO attended numerous meetings of the Association, which had elected a nine-man executive of which three were Native people. The CDO reported<sup>20</sup> that his main concern in working with the group was 'to try to coordinate and rationalize effort'. He strongly advised<sup>21</sup> the group against a proposed horse-mounted demonstration in Edmonton which some members suggested to get publicity for their activity.

The CDO was also instrumental in the formation of the Slave Lake Chamber of Commerce in 1965. A former executive of a defunct Slave Lake Board of Trade requested the CDO's help in forming a new organization. The community responded to their initiative and a forty member Chamber was formed. The CDO acted as secretary of the group for the first year. The Chamber sponsored a number of social, recreational and youth activities during the initial year. As an active participant in the new Chamber the CDO worked with community influentials and helped promote better facilities in Slave Lake.

Soon after his arrival in the community the CDO met some local Native people who were trying to form a housing cooperative to plan and administer its own building program. The Ksepegemaw Housing Cooperative Limited was incorporated in early 1965. The CDO offered his services as acting secretary until a permanent officer could be recruited. He left the position after nine months and the Co-op



hired a secretary. The Co-op had a membership of about thirty with an all-Native Board of Directors. Although it had open membership most of the participants were from the Native community.

The Co-op was able to negotiate financial assistance from the Alberta Commercial Corporation and commenced construction of homes for its members. By February, 1967, the Co-op had build seven new homes in Slave Lake.<sup>22</sup>

The CDO reported that there was a small minority of non-Native citizens who bitterly opposed the Co-op when it began to build homes for Native people in the better residential areas of Slave Lake. However, the discrimination of this group did not prevent the Co-op from continuing its program.

In June 1965 the Lake flooded extensively in the old town and living conditions became so poor that some residents had to be evacuated. The Co-op undertook to provide low-cost rental accommodation for the families and sought additional funding from the Alberta Commercial Corporation to construct twelve skid houses for them. The Corporation undertook the building of the skid houses themselves in view of the crisis situation with the evacuated families. They later turned the houses over to the Co-op for administrative purposes. The CDO reported<sup>23</sup> that the Co-op executive was dismayed by the refusal of the Corporation to accept advice on the type of construction and facilities for the skid houses. The Co-op faced further difficulty with the skid units when they found that the tenants in the homes were uncooperative and refused to care for the buildings. The leases were eventually terminated and the units were removed.<sup>24</sup>

Another organization that the CDO was involved in with the Native community was the Handicrafts Club in Slave Lake. A group of twelve





Native ladies met to discuss problems relating to the production and marketing of Native handicrafts such as mukluks and moccasins. The CDO was able to introduce them to a representative of Team Products who provided some specific assistance in obtaining production materials.

The CDO was also instrumental in the formation of the Slave Lake Location Clearing Co-op Ltd. It was in fact the CDO's initial suggestion at a meeting of the Housing Co-op in April that led to the eventual organization of this new co-op among the Native workmen of the area.<sup>25</sup> The group was able to recruit a working membership of thirty-five of the best bush workers in the area because the Co-op eliminated the expensive middlemen who were contracting the work and getting a substantial profit. The Native workers had other complaints about the working conditions and wages available through work with private contractors. The Native workers began to contract bush clearing work directly through the Co-op and commenced work in November 1965.

The Clearing Co-op soon began to have management difficulties and personality clashes developed within the membership. Since the CDO was closely involved in the Co-op he had a strong influence on the decisions made in the organizations. The CDO sponsored and supported the first chief executive of the Co-op but he found himself in a dilemma when the executive failed and the working members decided to remove him. The CDO reported that the pressure of the membership and his perception of the poor management of the executive 'forced him to publicly repudiate him' although he had originally supported him.<sup>26</sup> In response to the changing situation the CDO actively encouraged the members of the Co-op to take action against the executive and replace him with someone more appropriate. This was accomplished and the



situation improved for a time. However, the Co-op never recovered and it was defunct by the end of the first winter.

The CDO was instrumental in the formation and operation of each of the above organizations that emerged in the Slave Lake community during his service in the area. He was also a participant in the activities of other groups in Slave Lake. At the end of his first year the CDO reported<sup>27</sup> that his work with community groups had been the most significant aspect of his work in the community. He noted that the community's new organizations were the 'potent social mechanisms which constitute the vehicle of community development' in the area. It was noted that only ten Native people were participants in any secular organizations when the CDO entered the community, but by the end of the first year there were one hundred Native people involved to some degree in joint community organizations. One consequence of the increased participation and improved employment was the emergence of a 'detectably more bouyant aggressiveness in Native behavior' in Slave Lake.<sup>28</sup> The CDO observed that the dialogue and group action of the organizations had initiated a process of interaction between the Native and non-Native segments of the community that had potential for development in the Slave Lake area.

#### The Saddle Lake Case

The Community Development Branch appointed a CDO to work on the Saddle Lake Indian Reserve in 1968.<sup>29</sup> This case study presents only one incident from the CDO's activity in the Reserve community to indicate the pattern of the CDO's work.



The CDO identified himself in the community and began to conduct a sociometric survey of the Reserve involving extensive personal interviews with each Indian family. The purpose of his study was to reveal the informal influence structure of the community.<sup>30</sup> At the time that he was mapping the informal influence pattern of the community he was encouraging both the Band Council and members of the Band to develop a broader basis of participation in the decision making on the Reserve. He proposed a decision structure that would involve key informal leaders in a process of consultation with the Bank Council.

The research of the CDO, based on two simple questions of intra-family (extended) and extra-family trust relationships, revealed that the formally elected Band Council members were not often selected as trusted leaders on the survey. These findings proved very threatening to the traditionally elected Band Council who feared for their positions and that the CDO's proposal would lead to disorder and conflict on the Reserve. The informal leaders, with the support of the CDO, insisted that they were not interested in upsetting the existing structure in the Council, but they did demand recognition as having a more effective role in a participatory process of governance on the Reserve. There was general frustration with the elitist and monolithic form of decision making on the Reserve. The local people were especially interested in becoming more involved in rural development projects on the Reserve.

The incident that precipitated the crisis on the Reserve was the dismissal of the CDO when he would not discontinue his research and discussions with the informal leadership of the community. On March 5, 1969, the Band Council passed a motion of intent to phase out the CDO and in effect put a stop to his politicization and mobilization





activities on the Reserve. The strong group of informal leaders who had been attempting to get more open decision making processes on the Reserve were highly agitated by this move. After consultation with the CDO these leaders formed a social action group and by June 12 the group had pressured the Band Council to reconsider its action and at a general meeting of the Band the people voted 80% in favour of retaining the services of the CDO on the Reserve.

This successful confrontation with the elitist Band Council consolidated the informal authority of the leaders identified in the survey. The Band Council lost face severely and subsequently many of them withdrew from the elections the next spring. Only one of the fifteen informal leaders located on the sociogram and involved in the confrontation chose to enter the election and he was elected to the new Council. The other informal leaders remained consistent with their original position and refused to accept nominations for the Council elections. They had maintained from the start that they sought a more open and participatory decision making process on the Reserve: they were not out to topple the Council. Their aim was the evolution of structures for more involvement of residents in the activities of the Band in cooperation with the elected Council. The impact of the social action of the informal leaders has been to broaden the base of resident participation on the Saddle Lake Reserve.

### The Lac La Biche Case

This case study of the Community Development Officer approach to rural development is different than the previous cases in two aspects. It is different in that Alberta Newstart is the agency



responsible for the CDO activity and in that the intervention was not limited to an individual practitioner. The Newstart agency's team of community counsellors approached the Native people in the Lac La Biche area both as outreach workers for the agency and as community development workers. The counsellors, who were all Native people trained by the agency's CDO,<sup>31</sup> worked closely with individuals and groups in the community and encouraged them to take group action to improve the situation of the Metis people of the area.

This case study of the Lac La Biche activity is limited to a single incident that indicates the community's response to its difficulties with the stimulation of the community development approach used by the counsellors. The Newstart community counselling team was a significant catalyst in the emergence and support of the Metis social action group in January 1970.<sup>32</sup>

Briefly outlined, the Metis social action was the local community's response to their general frustration with the depressed rural economy and the lack of opportunity in the area which had a particularly severe impact on the Metis people. The precipitating incident was the Newstart decision to close down a skill training centre and dormitory in Lac La Biche which had been established as an experimental project in educational upgrading for culturally different groups.

To protest the closure of the Newstart centre and the general lack of government responsiveness to their needs, a group of Native people peacefully occupied the training centre and refused to leave until the Newstart agency and the senior governments responded to the community's demands. Although the decision to enter and hold the training centre as a means of political pressure and civil disobedience was a decision of the social action group itself, the role of the agency's field



workers in mobilizing local Native leadership and acting as supportive consultants is an important aspect of the Lac La Biche incident.

It is necessary to note that the Native social action group had the sympathetic support of some senior officials of Newstart and several non-Native organizations in Lac La Biche spoke out publicly in support of the petition that the Native group sent to the Prime Minister, the Premier and the federal Minister responsible for the Newstart program. The document<sup>33</sup> began by stating that the Indian and Metis people were fed up with the conditions of housing, medical services and welfare services and other 'dehumanizing effects' that they suffered. The Native's petition listed eight specific demands; re-opening of the centre, mostly Native staffing of the agency, an expanded mobile training unit, a training unit for Fort McKay, an action rather than a research priority in the program, a local Native development board for the area, special funds to implement rural development for local needs, and a demand for a response by the end of the month on threat of further action.

During the time of the occupation of the training centre from January 16 to February 10 the group retained control of the centre with a rotating force of 275 local Metis and Indian people.<sup>34</sup> The participants in the occupation elected ten spokesmen who negotiated with officials of the Newstart and later the Natives sent a delegation to Ottawa to discuss the groups's petition with officials in the Department of Regional Economic Expansion. The delegation returned from Ottawa with a federal commitment of \$160,000 for the training centre and indications that most of the other demands of the Natives would get immediate action from government agencies.<sup>35</sup> The group held further meetings in consultation with the community





counsellors to assess the government's response and finally vacated the occupied training centre on February 10.<sup>36</sup>

Two of the significant consequences of the Native social action group are the re-opening of the Newstart training centre and the formation of the Pe-Ta-Pan Development association by the local Indian and Metis people to provide leadership for the rural development process in the Lac La Biche area. The Pe-Ta-Pan group established several committees with mandates to initiate community dialogue and planning on the various aspects of rural development in the area. Each is concerned with a specific task such as education, employment, housing, industrial development and other problems faced by the community. Participation in these activities is expected to provide Native residents of the Lac La Biche area with an organizational framework for further progress in improving the conditions of people in the area.



Footnotes to Chapter III

1. Mr. T. J. Garvin was the first Community Development Officer (CDO) appointed by the government of Alberta. He was initially assigned for a two-year contract period in the New Town. This was later extended to three years, following this he became the CDO in the marginal urban community of Edmonton's Boyle Street area.
2. The population was 1,300 in 1964 with 700--more than one half--of Native ancestry. In 1966 it was about 3,000 with still only 700--less than one quarter--of Native ancestry. See: T. J. Garvin and H. Robertson; "The Community Development Process in Fort McMurray 1964 - 1966", unpublished report, Edmonton, 1966.
3. The estimated total reserves of the deposits approaches 626 billion barrels. See: Research and Planning Division: The B-12 Plan, Edmonton, Government of Alberta, 1969, p. 159.
4. There were 11,770 people of Indian ancestry in C.D. 12; about 23% of the total. The proportion was more than one half Native in the Fort McMurray area. See: The B-12 Plan, op. cit., p. 280.
5. T. J. Garvin; "Progress Report", Dec. 20, 1965.
6. Garvin; *ibid*.
7. T. J. Garvin; "Fort McMurray", Oct. 20, 1964.
8. Garvin and Robertson; op. cit., p. 15.
9. Garvin and Robertson; op. cit., p. 19.
10. Garvin and Robertson; *ibid*.
11. T. J. Garvin; "Progress Report", Dec. 20, 1965.
12. Garvin and Robertson; op. cit., pp. 18-19.
13. T. J. Garvin; "Demonstration", Sept. 13, 1966.
14. Mr. D. Babcock was the first CDO in the Slave Lake community.



15. D. Babcock; Memo to the Coordinator, Dec. 20, 1965.
16. B. Y. Card; The Metis in Alberta Society, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1963. He estimated that 44% of I.D. 124 was Native Canadian.
17. Babcock; *ibid.*
18. Babcock; *ibid.*
19. Babcock; *ibid.*
20. Babcock; *ibid.*
21. D. Babcock; cited in C. A. S. Hynam; "An Evaluation of Three Alberta Community Development Projects", preliminary draft, April 1969.
22. C. Linklater; unpublished "Regression Report", Feb. 8, 1967.
23. D. Babcock; Memo to the Coordinator, Oct. 19, 1965.
24. C. A. S. Hynam; "An Evaluation of Three Alberta Community Development Projects", preliminary draft, April 1969.
25. Hynam; *op. cit.*, p. 26.
26. D. Babcock; Memo to the Coordinator, Jan. 11, 1966.
27. D. Babcock; Memo to the Coordinator, Dec. 20, 1965.
28. Babcock; *ibid.*
29. Mr. J. R. Albert was assigned to the Saddle Lake Reserve as a CDO at the request of the Band Council.
30. The information in this case study is mainly based on the researcher's personal interviews with Mr. Albert.
31. The Newstart agency's Director of Community Counselling was Mr. B. Baich. He recruited Native persons for the counselling team and trained them intensively for their work in the community.
32. This assessment is based on the writer's visit with the social action group in the occupied training centre.





33. Lac La Biche Residents; "A Petition to the Prime Minister, the Minister of Regional Economic Expansion and the Premier", January 1970.
34. The Edmonton Journal, January 23, 1970.
35. Ibid.
36. The Edmonton Journal, February 7, 1970.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE AREA DEVELOPMENT TEAM APPROACH

In this chapter the Area Development Team approach is briefly reviewed and case studies illustrating this approach are presented. The descriptive case studies presented are not comprehensive in documenting the entire experience of the province with this approach to development. However, the cases presented illustrate the basic pattern of operations in the ADT approach to rural development.

The significant features of this approach are outlined in the introductory chapter of the thesis. It is noted that this type of agency intervention has a multi-disciplinary team of civil servants from related agencies. The Team is responsible for rural development activities over a large area of several thousand population rather than for a small community. The Team has a mandate to consult with the communities of the area and conduct socio-economic research and planning for developing the physical and financial assistance to mobilize resources for comprehensive development and expanded local opportunities. The Team is the communication and coordination link between the area population and the government decision makers. It may be responsible for direct administration of programs or indirectly function as a planning and coordination task force in the area. In terms of the agency's interaction with the communities within this approach it is significant that the Team is clearly identified as a source of government resources and authority. This fact, plus the scale of area operations, requires that agency-community interaction be formal and extensive with emphasis on the delivery of services rather than on intensive human development.



The ADT approach to rural development in Alberta was initiated by agencies under the auspices of the Agricultural and Rural Development Act (ARDA) and functions under the Human Resources Development Authority (HRDA) in the province. The operation of this approach in the province is in some sense parallel to the operation of the CDO approach in time, however, most of the activities of the Team approach are focussed in the latter part of the previous decade. In fact, the provincial government expects to integrate the CDO function into the operation of the Team.<sup>1</sup> However, the two approaches are historically and conceptually separable--it remains to be seen whether they are functionally compatible.

The case studies presented in this chapter are derived from the early ARDA and later HRDA agency experiences with the ADT approach in the second half of the previous decade in Alberta. The case studies are necessarily sketchy in terms of specific details and subject to the constraints of documentation and interpretation outlined in Chapter I. Each of the cases has been constructed from available written materials and personal interviews with selected participants. An attempt has been made to illustrate the operation of the approach by presenting relevant incidents that point up the pattern of resident participation and community-agency modes of interaction. This has been done without misrepresenting the actual events of the cases but there is no doubt that studies conducted from another perspective would choose to accent other aspects of the rural development operation.

#### The Edson Area Case

The Edson area of western Alberta was selected as a pilot project





in rural development and the ARDA agency appointed a resource coordinator in February 1965 although complete funding was not secured until 1967. The agency operated from an Edson office with responsibility for the whole of census division 14. Following the appointment of the coordinator the staff was expanded to a complete team that was to take a total resources approach to the solution of problems of the area.

Comprehensive socio-economic research had been conducted in the area which indicated the need for primary resource adjustment and potential for more effective use of the industrial, forestry, agricultural and agency resources in the area.<sup>2</sup> The research identified problems of inefficiency and poor resource mobility especially in the agricultural sector of the economy. There were problems of low income levels, related social problems and below average material standards of living, but the research indicated substantial potential for developing the human and physical resources of the area.

It was in this context that the ADT initiated rural development activities in the area in 1965 with a mandate to prepare a rural development plan for federal-provincial shared cost funding under the ARDA legislation. Following this process of research and consultation with the area population the Team prepared a development plan for the pilot project area.

The result of the Team's activities was the approval of a 6.8 million dollar rural development program with the purpose to provide the opportunity to increase the levels of income and standards of living for rural people in C.D. 14 by effecting necessary physical resource adjustments to promote development and to facilitate action programs for human resources development.<sup>3</sup> The Agreement included



programs for alternative land use and farm consolidation; agricultural, forestry and tourism aid; conservation measures; educational and vocational programs; job corps training and staff development.

For the purpose of this case study the most significant aspect of the ARDA legislation is its specification that the residents of the area participate in the planning and implementation of programs under the Act. Part IV of the ARDA Act states that the objective is to encourage effective community and area leadership for programs under this Agreement; and to involve local people in the solution of socio-economic problems of the community and the area.<sup>4</sup> The particular interpretation and operationalization of this mandate for resident participation in the Edson program is the central theme of this case study.

A significant feature of the ARDA Team's early activity in the area was its highly publicized offer to share the planning, drafting, submission and implementation of programs with local people in the project area. Describing the work of the agency several ARDA documents emphasize the Team's commitment to grassroots participation in rural development activities.<sup>5</sup> The documents indicate that local people are best able to identify problems and potentials in their area and consider possible alternative ways to respond to the problems.

The ARDA agency's position indicated that rural development decisions were the shared responsibility of selected representatives of the local community and the ARDA Team. It was with this orientation that the Team set out in 1965 to select and train an advisory group of local influentials that would be the main vehicle for resident participation in the preparation and the implementation of the multi-million dollar pilot project that was proposed for the area.



The Team choose to initiate new decision structures for this process of resident participation as well as using the existing voluntary organizations, interest groups and agencies for feedback from the local population.

For the purpose of this study, a most interesting aspect of the approach was the method of selection that the agency used in establishing the participation structures. The Team's approach to local involvement was essentially a procedure of identifying and mobilizing the area's socially powerful people to obtain consent for the agency's activities in the community.

The C.D. 14 area was divided into five community zones on the basis of commercial and social interaction patterns in the area. The agency sent researchers into each of the five communities of the area and conducted a power structure analysis to identify the ten most influential leaders in each community.

The research tool used in the leadership study followed Powers'<sup>6</sup> reputational technique for the identification and recruitment of appropriate leaders for involvement in the agency's participation structures. The researchers interviewed ten arbitrarily selected 'knowledgeables' who seemed aware of the pattern of social power in the community. These knowledgeable residents were asked to point out the ten most influential persons that they perceived in the community. Following this survey the researchers simply ranked the selected influentials that were named in the survey and the ten persons named most frequently were accepted as the ten influentials and were invited by the agency to share in the decision making process of rural development. Since there were ten persons selected from each of the five community zones there were fifty persons contacted by the





agency to participate in the ARDA program.

In the fall of 1965 the fifty influentials were informed of their selection and asked to become involved in the planning, preparation and submission of a rural development project for the Edson area. The agency informed the resident participants that they were 'sanction leaders' rather than 'action leaders' and their main function was to legitimize the operation of the agency in the area and quietly advise it on the need for services and programs in the area. This function for the fifty influentials was outlined by the resource coordinator<sup>7</sup> who pointed out that there would be a need for a more active type of leadership during the implementation stage of the pilot project.

In the fall of 1965 the ARDA Team conducted a 'Seminar Six' series of bi-monthly leadership training sessions for the fifty local leaders. The participants were expected to prepare themselves for effective leadership roles in the proposed pilot project for the area. The sessions included lectures and discussions guided by agency staff or by outside experts. These sessions included studies of the economics of growth, the problems of resource adjustment in marginal areas such as the Edson pilot project and intensive work on the process of leadership and efficient decision making procedures.

One of the main functions of this series of leadership training sessions was to set the terms of reference for resident participation in the ARDA programs in that area. It was also an opportunity for the Team to recognize which influentials would be cooperative legitimizers of its activities and to spot the individuals who were likely blockers of agency objectives. The fifty local leaders were invited to sit on a fifty-member regional development advisory council to collaborate with the agency staff on the proposed pilot project.



The Team used the series of leadership session to stress the advisory role of the residents' regional council and pointed out that the leaders had an important social control function to assure a unified rural development effort. An ARDA document<sup>8</sup> described the sessions as a means to teach residents the importance of the interdependence of the people of the area and the need for the council to consider the needs of the entire community of the area.

This indicates that the Team used the training sessions to take preventive measures against potential cleavage when traditional inter-community rivalries were accentuated by the new influx of benefits under the ARDA program. In addition, the inputs of the Team and the program accelerated the normal process social and techno-economic change so that the relative lag of redundant rural villages and the relatively rapid expansion of viable growth nodes become even more obvious. The agency viewed resident participation as an instrument to minimize the factional potential of these two forces in the context of rural development.

The agency Team's terms of reference for local involvement induced local residents to share the responsibility for the determination of priorities for the allocation of program resources in such a way that the total community's stamp of approval was placed on the agency's activities. The regional advisory council were not only asked to advise the Team on program development and priorities; the council was also able to formally approve decisions and expected to defend the decisions taken in this way.

It is in the communication of these decisions to the grassroots level in the community and in the defense of these shared decisions that resident participation functioned as a social control mechanism



in the area. The Team coordinator<sup>9</sup> maintains that this social control function is essential in the area during the intervention of change agents when social change and physical and human resources adjustments begin to occur. The process of shared decision making did not make the agency program accountable to the area residents but it enabled the Team to design more responsive programs because of the feedback function of the resident council. It also permitted a more rational allocation of resources and prevented cleavage between communities in the area because of the social control function of the advisory leaders. Both of these functions contributed to attaining the agency's objectives of improving primary resources adjustment, labour mobility and guided social change in the area.

Since the fifty member advisory council was too large for effective continuous consultation with the agency Team, a smaller core of this body was selected to represent the five communities of the area in a process of decision by decision collaboration with the agency Team. This core group consisted of delegates nominated by each of the area's five zone development committees. This resident participation structure linked the community-based development committees to the agency Team through the regional advisory council which related directly to the Team.

The Team asked the advisory council to review all requests and submissions from the ARDA zones committees and other interest groups that sought to initiate projects under the ARDA program. The council was asked to assess the compatibility of each project with the best interest of the whole area and advise the Team on the appropriate decisions to maintain an efficient allocation of resources and a general balance of ARDA program benefits among all parts of the area. Only projects approved by this advisory council were submitted to senior





provincial and federal ARDA officials for funding. There was no formal guarantee that area council submissions would be ratified at the senior level, but the process of shared decision making insured that most resident group submissions were substantially reshaped in collaboration with the ARDA Team so that they would fit the terms of the legislation. There were often delays in projects but in the initial stages of the Team's activity there were few outright rejections of resident initiatives since they were tailored to fit the agency's general orientation.

It is important to note that the local residents' views were not the only influence impinging on the decisions and resource allocation process of the rural development Team. The various government agencies operating in the area were also constituencies with a definite interest in the ARDA operation. To accomodate this group the Team established a regional technical panel with representatives of each of these agencies, to provide technical assistance and administer part of the program. This panel of civil servants with responsibilities in the Edson pilot program area was an important liaison between the Team and the resources of the government agencies. A central aspect of the ARDA Team's mandate in the pilot area was to coordinate its activities with and through existing federal, provincial and municipal agencies which already had staff and structure in the area. The technical panel was a source of legitimacy, expertise and resources for the ARDA Team's efforts to mobilize a total resources approach to rural development. The panel was also a strong interest group in influencing the type of activities undertaken by the ARDA agency. In fact there are indications that the technical panel was more effective than local residents in determining the pattern of activities of the ARDA agency.<sup>10</sup> In several instances ARDA projects in the area are simply linear extensions of



existing recreational, resource conservation, infrastructure building and research activities of agencies implementing projects with ARDA funding.

The ARDA Team and the technical agency staff often sat on joint committees with local residents to share decision making on various aspects of the program. In addition to the regional and zone resident advisory committees there were resident committees on farm adjustment, recreation and tourism, youth and on special agricultural projects.

This network of resident committees formed the basic framework for resident participation in the Area Development Team approach to rural development in the Edson pilot program. Case material based on more specific incidents involving local leadership and agency staff will illustrate the pattern followed by resident participation in the Edson program.

During the initial phase of the rural development activity the Team was able to maintain the procedural pre-requisites of resident participation. The program decisions were formally approved by the advisory council and the local leaders were consulted with regard to the ongoing operation of the agency. Later some issues emerged in which the local residents' wishes were either ignored or bureaucratically sidetracked and delayed at higher levels.

The regional advisory council had established their own priorities with regard to the development of the transportation infrastructure in the area. However, officials in Edmonton altered the submission and submitted the revised proposal to federal ARDA without consultation with the resident council.<sup>11</sup> There was considerable resentment and frustration among the regional council when they discovered that the access road priorities had been changed without their consent. The



ARDA Team were also quite frustrated by the move since it seriously damaged their relations with the advisory group.

The most significant issue to emerge from resident participation was the controversy over ARDA assistance to the local farmers for land clearing and development. The council approved a submission for direct ARDA financial aid to farmers for land clearing and breaking. This proposal was a top priority objective of the local population but it faced great obstacles at higher levels in the administration. There is little doubt that such expenditures would be somewhat inconsistent with national agricultural policy in view of substantial surpluses of high cost cereals in Canada. However, the development of land for beef production was the intent of the submission and this was feasible on the basis of soil classification and marketing possibilities. Another criticism of the proposal was that it tended to make funds available only to wealthy farmers with viable commercial operations rather than aiding the marginal farmer with serious economic problems.<sup>12</sup>

The result of the dilemma was that a submission that had been approved by the local residents suffered long delays and substantial changes at the senior levels of government and was ineffective for local purposes when it was finally implemented. It provided no direct assistance as expected but simply allowed a subsidy on interest charges of bank loans. In the context of high-risk marginal farming and a tight credit situation the banks refused to lend money and the whole land development program never became fully operational.<sup>13</sup>

The most serious consequence of this failure to respond to the needs and priorities established by the regional advisory council was the loss of the credibility that resident participation had had in the ARDA programs. The ineffectiveness of local leaders in influencing





the work of the agency, coupled with complaints that there was too much administration and too little action, created further public dissatisfaction with the ARDA program.<sup>14</sup> The bitterness of the local farmers following the stalemate on the land clearing issue is noted by Reid<sup>15</sup> in his contacts with residents of the area. This changing attitude toward the ARDA Team's activities is documented by Sulatycky<sup>16</sup> who spoke in Parliament to the effect that even the most ardent supporters had become bitter about the ARDA program. Knapp<sup>17</sup> reported that residents were hostile to him when they learned he represented that agency. The alienation of residents from the agency is also observable in the move by local governments to demand more knowledge about the agency's operations.<sup>18</sup>

The form of resident participation that the ARDA agency permitted came under the direct attack of the chairman of the regional advisory council. Gould<sup>19</sup> complained that the council was only a sounding board for the ARDA Team and that it was ineffective because of red tape and other restrictions. The ARDA Team's reaction to Gould's criticism was that the chairman was playing the wrong role. The Team coordinator<sup>20</sup> reminded the chairman that he was a 'sanction leader' whose function was to advise not to initiate. She also observed that some communities wanted to put leaders on the council who were not the type for which the advisory council was intended.

The divergent perceptions held by the Team and the local leaders about the role of the regional advisory council is a clear indication of the contradictions inherent in structures of resident participation that do not permit direct negotiation between the rural development agency and the representatives with an uncertain mandate to advise the agency Team on decisions made at higher levels.<sup>21</sup>



The second most important structure for resident involvement in the ARDA programs was the farm adjustment committees set up to guide the farm consolidation and land use program which had the largest commitment of funds under the 7 million dollar pilot program. Resident participation in this committee was crucial to the ARDA activities since farm consolidation decisions had the most potential for controversy and abuse. The farm adjustment committee's role was to advise the agency on the acquisition and resale of farm and forest land in the area. Since the agency purchased marginal farm lands and either re-zoned them for forestry or resold them to farmers for consolidation of more efficient units, the decisions of this committee greatly influenced the distribution of benefits among the local residents.

The committee was a joint group consisting of three or four local farmers and representatives from three government agencies directly involved in farm consolidation. All were formally appointed by the provincial minister of agriculture who was responsible for this aspect of the ARDA program. The local farmers on these committees had an important role in guiding the community as well as helping to legitimize the conservationist and family relocation objectives of the ARDA agency. Although the objectives were often a reflection of the origin of the ARDA agency and the type of agencies administering the program for the ARDA Team, the resident members were effective in making the operation responsive to local needs within the limits of the program legislation. In the manner of the regional council this committee was an important communication link and mechanism of social control between the ARDA Team and the local population.

A separate but very important method of resident participation in the ARDA programs was the direct employment of local residents as



para-professional workers for the Team. The Team hired both male and female workers as 'community advisors' who were employed for their ability to relate to the local residents and improve the responsiveness of the agency to the needs of local clients. These indigenous para-professionals functioned both to sensitize the agencies procedures and to legitimize the objectives of the agency in the eyes of the local clients.

The ARDA team hired local people to become liaison workers with local groups, educational counsellors, youth workers and to work as outreach personnel for the home visitors' program. The Team's rationale for its extensive use of directly employed local residents was that bureaucratic outreach would be extended and clientele receptivity would be increased. This is clear from Halder's<sup>22</sup> description of the role of para-professionals in the home visiting program. She noted that one of the best bridges between people and the services they need is a local person who is clearly recognized as a friend. The Team's strategy of using local residents was based on an assumption that the excessively professionalized personnel of social agencies were unable to communicate effectively with rural residents in need of services. In this strategy resident participation was a means of improving the Team's ability to relate to the needs of the area by the direct employment of residents to implement agency programs.

This case study illustrates the diversity of forms of resident participation in the ADT approach as it operated in the Edson area pilot program in rural development.





The St. Paul Area Case

The rural development office in St. Paul was established in 1966 and the resource coordinator appointed to administer and coordinate programs of technical and financial assistance to area residents under the ARDA legislation. There was no comprehensive program initiated in the area and the ARDA Team's activities have focussed on specific agricultural and resource development projects. There is also a farm adjustment program similar to the program initiated in the Edson pilot program.

The pattern of resident participation in the rural programs of the St. Paul area was quite different than that of the Edson area program. The Team coordinator<sup>23</sup> preferred a more ad hoc mode of consultation with the residents of the area. He had been a civil servant in the area for forty years and was able to function on a more informal consultation basis with people that he knew very well. The Team did not establish a regional advisory council and a network of sub-groups or resident leaders as was the pattern in Edson. In an interview, the Team coordinator noted that an informal and open structure of consultation was effective and it did not lead to the frustrations that elaborate representative structures without real authority tended to do.

The ARDA Team did establish farm adjustment committees on which farmer representatives sat with civil servants to advise the agency on land zoning, marginal farm purchases and resale and general land use and conservation practices in the area. Operations under this program were not very extensive because of the limited funding available to the Team in this area.

In the early phase of the ARDA activities in the St. Paul area the



Team coordinator encouraged resident participation in the formation of ARDA study groups in each community to initiate planning and prepare project proposals for submission to the senior levels of ARDA for approval. The Team also worked with groups of Indian and Metis residents in the preparation of resource development projects. Most of the projects approved for this area were initiated by Native groups in consultation with the Team.

The Team's strategy in this area has been to work closely in support of local groups of residents and coalitions of community groups to prepare and submit the type of resource development project preferred by the residents. The Team worked closely with these groups to design projects that met the criteria of the ARDA legislation. In spite of this advocacy function of the Team the area residents have not had consistent success in getting funding for their submissions.

In one case Smoky Lake leaders sought ARDA funding to conduct a feasibility study for a proposed agro-industrial complex in the town. The group was unsuccessful after a long process of negotiation with senior government officials which the Team arranged on behalf of the resident group.

Another case of frustrated resident participation was the Vilna coalition of twelve community groups which prepared and submitted a tourist-recreation project for the development of Bonnie Lake just outside Vilna. The Team encouraged the group to initiate the proposal and cooperated with them in drafting the submission to the government. Senior officials analyzed the groups' submission and ultimately rejected the proposal. They pointed out that the Canada land inventory did not classify Bonnie Lake appropriate for beach development, the project was for mainly local use and it did not fit with the established priorities



of the parks division of the provincial government. The Vilna project was eventually implemented without assistance from government sources on the initiative of the coalition.

The ARDA Team cooperated with Native groups to prepare and submit land clearing and agricultural development proposals to the government. The Team channelled technical and financial aid into operating projects on three Indian Reserves and three Metis Colonies in the area. For example the Saddle Lake Development Association obtained nearly \$100,000.00 to initiate its land clearing and grain production enterprise on the Reserve. In these cases also, the Team functioned as an advocate planner in the preparation of the resident groups submission and later coordinated or administered supporting services for the local implementation of the project.

Perhaps the best indication that resident participation in the St. Paul area has had serious difficulties is derived from an article written in 1969 by a local resident who had been deeply involved in some of the local people's interaction with the ARDA agency.<sup>24</sup> He pointed out that in January 1967 the first of a series of meetings was held at which the agency promised residents the opportunity to take action 'to mould their own destinies' and help themselves out of the cost price squeeze. As a result of the agency's stimulation the residents set up community self-surveys that quickly determined the priority needs of the communities. In July several projects were submitted from the resident group but no response had been obtained from government by November. The communities then decided to prepare a brief expressing their needs and detailed proposals to Mr. Strom. With continued resident pressure in 1968 a land assembly program was initiated by the agency and farm adjustment committees





were appointed. However, at the time of writing in 1969 there had still been no action on the residents top priority need--the land development proposal was still being processed by the government. An angry resident hinted that after two years of delays the farmers were ready to "camp on the steps of the legislature" in order to elicit a response from government. He was extremely critical of the excessive administration and bureaucratic delays in programs under the ARDA Team. This case surely indicates the perceptions that the local people have of the effectiveness of resident participation in rural development.

The operation of the ADT approach in the St. Paul area includes cases of limited success for resident participation and several cases of local involvement that have not been at all effective in influencing the agency or obtaining the benefits of rural development activities.

#### The Peace River Area Case

The Area Development Team approach to rural development operated on a tentative basis in the whole northwest region of the province from 1967 when a resource coordinator was appointed until early 1970 when the provincial government terminated the program in that area. The Team in Fairview was dismantled in 1970 following a government decision that it did not have sufficient resources to make a large commitment to the area and, rather than scatter resources too thinly for effective impact, the province would concentrate attention on the Slave Lake area program just undertaken.<sup>25</sup>

During the two years that it operated in the Peace River region the ARDA-HRDA Team encouraged the involvement of the residents in its planning and programming. The Team in this area followed a similar strategy to



that in the Edson area. The Team did not, however, set up a network of advisory groups and a regional advisory council. Instead the Team relied on public meetings and the nine farm adjustment committees with farmer representatives for feedback and advice on programs. As was the case in the other two areas, the ARDA farm adjustment committees were established because of the necessity for local sanction and legitimization of programs for farm consolidation and disposition of Crown lands in the area. The committees were effectively functioning under the administration of a branch of the department of agriculture and the termination of the Team operation in the area did not affect this particular form of resident participation in rural development activities.

The shared decision making of this joint committee permitted the government to obtain the residents' stamp of approval on the zoning and allocation of both virgin Crown lands and that land purchased and available for alternative production. The joint committees performed a useful social control function for the agency and kept their decisions as sensitive as possible to local preferences. It is significant that the regulations on land use and development that the committees enforced were not always completely consistent with local perceptions of the best form of land use, but the farmer representatives were able to inform residents of the conservationist policies and other factors that determine the terms of reference for the operation of the farm adjustment committees.

During the two years of its operation the Team initiated resident involvement in the form of direct employment of local people on the staff. However, the home visiting program had not fully commenced when the program was terminated. In addition the Team employed a Native



community advisor to act as liaison with the Native communities in the Peace River area.

Since the ARDA-HRDA Team's emphasis was on program planning and coordination of services through existing agencies the termination of the Team itself should not seriously reduce the delivery of rural development services in the area. Although it was operational only two years, the pattern of activities in the Peace River area followed closely the other case studies in the ADT approach.

### The Slave Lake Area Case

The most recently initiated Area Development Team approach in the province was the designation of the Lesser Slave Lake area as the target of special federal and provincial development efforts. The Team approach to area development that was initiated in the Slave Lake was quite different than the operation of the Teams in the other three special areas.

On the basis of previous experience with the Team approach the provincial government made changes in the terms of reference of the Team responsible for the Slave Lake area. The background of the appointment of the Team was also unique in that it was largely the result of resident participation in the form of social action by the local leaders. During August 1968 a group of 25 concerned leaders from the Slave Lake area met with the Cabinet to pressure for special assistance in view of the wide-spread rural poverty, low incomes, welfare dependence and related social problems in the area. The following month a HRDA resource coordinator was appointed by the by the government. It was significant that the Team coordinator was





a long-time resident of the area and the choice of the local population for the position.<sup>26</sup>

The coordinator was responsible for a six-man task force with a mandate to carry out research in direct consultation with local people for a detailed diagnosis of the multi-problem area and to prepare a tentative comprehensive plan for the development of the area. The basic socio-economic research had been conducted earlier,<sup>27</sup> the Team's mandate was to involve the people in a process of cataloguing needs and priorities and designing the necessary programs for the area. The stimulation of this local involvement was the special task of an explicitly community development component that was build into the Team in the Slave Lake project area.

In early 1970 the Slave Lake area was designated eligible for federal industrial incentives to the extent of 20 million dollars and a federal-provincial agreement was signed which permitted comprehensive rural development activities to commence. In the interim 18 months following the establishment of the Team in 1968, the residents of the area, the existing social agencies and the HRDA Team had collaborated in the documentation of the physical and human resources development potential of the area and prepared plans for rural development. Since the implementation phase of the Slave Lake program is just beginning, it is not possible to assess the operation of the Team from this perspective.

However, the early activities of the Team indicated that the Team's strategy was substantially different than the previous provincial experience with the Area Development Team. For example the strategy was to facilitate development with as little as possible direct intervention by the HRDA structure. The Team was responsive to requests



from any community for assistance, but the local people were encouraged to make most effective use of available resources and work through regular government channels. The Team used its influence and other resources to assure the most effective utilization of those agencies that were already providing services in the area. The Team had only a two-year mandate for planning and coordination and it avoided, to a large extent, the initiation of programs and services for which it was directly administratively responsible. It worked on the assumption that existing agency channels were not fully utilized and capable of delivering the required development services. It attempted to 'spin off' any new programs and service innovations to regular government agencies.

A significant feature of the Slave Lake Team's operation was its extremely low-key approach to resident participation in the initial stages of preparation and submission of plans for rural development programs. The Team consulted local voluntary organizations and ad hoc groups in the process of preparing and documenting the comprehensive plan. But the Team did not establish elaborate participation structures in anticipation of government commitment funds for development. The Team coordinator observed that it was frustrating and destructive to create such structures and induce high local expectations without assurance that definite and observable benefits would follow from resident participation.<sup>28</sup> In this context the Team choose to work quietly and invisibly with local groups and avoided promises of immediate government response and easy solution of the area's problems.

The community development component of the Team worked with each of the five functional communities of the Slave Lake area-- isolated settlements, Indian Reserves, Metis Colonies, unincorpo-



rated villages and growth centre towns--in the process of developing the catalogue of the area's needs. As the program enters the implementation stage it is anticipated that the structures of resident participation will evolve from these communities' desire to become directly involved in the rural development programs.





Footnotes to Chapter IV

1. The implications of this attempt to integrate the CDO component into the ADT operation will become known only on the basis of experience with the combined approach. The comments of Richards provide an affirmative prognosis for the new integrated operation, while Albert's paper points up some negative dimensions of the later development model. See: L. Richards; "Change and the Media", a paper presented at the Banff Conference, 1970, p. 12 and p. 17. And see: J. R. Albert; A Proposal Presented to HRDA on Community Development, HRDA, 1970.
2. Alberta Department of Agriculture; Resources for Rural Development: Alberta Census Division 14, Edmonton, Economics Division, 1966.
3. Government of Canada; "The Rural Development Program in Census Division 14", the cost sharing agreement, 1967.
4. Government of Canada; Federal-Provincial Rural Development Agreement; Department of Forestry and Rural Development, Ottawa, 1965, p. 16.
5. HRDA-ARDA; "News Release R-19", January 30, 1968.
6. R. Powers; "Identifying the Community Power Structure", Iowa State University Extension Service, pub. #19, 1965.
7. A. F. Belyea; personal interview notes, 1969.
8. HRDA-ARDA; "The Rural Development Program in Census Division 14, Alberta", unpublished reports, 1967, p. 10.
9. A. F. Belyea; personal interview notes, 1969.
10. The influence patterns of informal and formal cooptation will be analyzed later. The traditional physical resource development orientation of ARDA in Alberta has been commented on by several observers. See: H. Buckley and E. Tihanyi: Canadian Policies for Rural Adjustment, Economic Council of Canada, Ottawa, 1967.



11. P. Sheehan; personal interview notes, 1969.
12. P. Apedaile; personal interview notes, 1970.
13. Apedaile; *ibid.*
14. J. Knapp; personal interview notes, 1969.
15. S. Reid; The Edmonton Journal, July 30, 1969.
16. A. Sulatycky; quoted in The Edmonton Journal, November 3, 1969.
17. J. Knapp; personal interview notes, 1969.
18. G. Aalborg; The Edmonton Journal, March 6, 1969.
19. C. Gould; quoted in The Edmonton Journal, July 5, 1969.
20. P. Sheehan was the acting Resource Coordinator at this time; the account here is based on her perception of the incident.
21. Information from Belyea, Knapp, Svenson, Sheehan and others all indicate to the researcher that the selected leaders were hesitant to claim the authority to make decisions as community representatives since they held non-elective positions. Primary data based on the statements of local leaders themselves confirms the problems inherent in this advisory approach to involvement.
22. M. Halder; Address to a meeting of Improvement District Committee-men from the Edson area, April 1969.
23. The Resource Coordinator for the St. Paul project is Mr. L. Gareau, the former D.A. in the area.
24. J. Sykes; The Edmonton Journal, February 10, 1969.
25. R. Speaker; The Minister of Social Development and the Chairman of the Human Resources Development Authority told a meeting of HRDA field staff that the new policy would be to focus inputs for a greater impact on the designated area.
26. The appointed Resource Coordinator, N. W. Gilliat, was the joint choice of the local residents and the provincial government--



although the local mandate was solicited and received only through informal channels. Mr. Gilliat had spent the previous twenty years as a senior forestry official in the area.

27. Alberta Department of Agriculture; An Analysis of Resources in Alberta's Lesser Slave Lake Area, Edmonton, Economics Division, 1968.
28. N. W. Gilliat; personal interview notes, 1969. He further observed that the resident councils, when they were set up following the commitment of funds to the project, should be regarded as the 'bargaining agent' of the local population. This is in contrast to the researcher's inference that at the upper levels of government in Alberta the resident councils are generally regarded as passive 'consumer panels' on which agency initiatives are to be 'market tested' before implementation.





## CHAPTER V

### THE COMMUNITY ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

This chapter reviews the essential characteristics of the Community Enterprise Development approach and presents case studies to illustrate the operation of this approach in Alberta during the past decade. The case studies presented cannot be comprehensive nor representative because of the lack of accessible material and the limited extent of the writer's experience with this approach to rural development in Alberta.

The most distinctive feature of the CED approach to rural development is the extent to which the development processes function independently of direct government intervention. The agency intervention pattern of this approach consists of inputs of financial subsidies or loans and inputs of technical advice into basically autonomous client organizations. The recipients of this financial and technical aid are developmental instruments controlled by recipients at the local, regional or provincial level.

Until recently this approach to rural development was restricted to agency work with cooperatives, associations and other groups at the local level. In the latter part of the decade the government committed itself to substantial technical and financial assistance to enterprises operating at the area or provincial level such as the three Native organizations. Whatever the scale of operation of the recipient organization, the characteristic agency-client enterprises negotiating with the development agency to obtain supportive funding and expertise for its own rural development activities.



The CED approach operates on the basic principle that rural clients are capable of evolving effective means of adjustment in response changing social, economic and technological forces in society. The basic means of agency aid is by means of incentives and support in the form of funds and expertise. With this agency aid it is anticipated that the rural clients can develop more effective institutions, participate more productively in society and raise their own material standard of living.

It should be noted that rural development activities of this type are often extensions of the CDO approach of the ADT approach. However, the CED approach is conceptually and operationally separate and it has distinctive implications for the client community and for the society as a whole. Both in terms of social and economic objectives these independent instruments of rural development have had a distinct impact on the development of rural Alberta.

The descriptive case studies of this chapter indicate the differences in scale, differences in impact, and differences in resident participation found within the CED approach as implemented in this province.

#### The Saddle Lake Development Association

A group of residents of the Saddle Lake Indian Reserve near St. Paul formed the Saddle Lake Centennial Development Association in 1967 to initiate united action to develop the physical and human resources of the community. The Association was officially organized under the Societies Act of Alberta with a nine-man Board of Directors responsible to the Native members.



The Association obtained the planning and technical advice of the local ARDA Team and other agencies in order to prepare a resource development project for the Reserve.<sup>1</sup> They submitted a proposal for ARDA funds to aid in the development of 15,000 acres of productive agricultural land. The proposal included a built-in training program for Native people to learn skills required for modern agricultural labour and management. The Association's submission was successful and they obtained nearly \$100,000 from ARDA to commence work on the expansion of their cereal and beef production operations.

It is significant that the basic rationale of the project was not to make a profit for the members of the local Association. The group's specific aims were to provide employment for welfare dependent residents, to provide adult education and job training for residents and to offer the interested residents the opportunity to take the first step toward becoming self-sufficient farm operators on the Reserve.<sup>2</sup>

The Board of Directors had responsibility for the project's operation and they employed an experienced Native farmer as the project manager. With the aid of the \$40 per acre grant from the government the group contracted out the land clearing and employed a large number of Reserve residents as workers and foremen on the project. They also purchased a fleet of farm machinery to break and crop the new land. However, a substantial portion of the work was let out on a custom work contract to local farmers who had the equipment needed for the operation.

The Association did not immediately develop a capital intensive and mechanized farm operation on the Reserve. This was partly because of the shortage of funds, but mostly because the group chose to use





labour intensive practices in order to provide employment for the maximum number of residents possible. One consequence of this was that the emergency welfare role was nearly eliminated as the people took advantage of the employment opportunity available on the project. At one point a maximum of 132 Native residents were employed in the land clearing, fence building, cropping and granary construction activities of the project.<sup>3</sup>

By the summer of 1969 the Association had about 3,000 acres developed and ready for cropping. The group negotiated a contract with a seed company to grow pedigreed cereals on the new land to supply registered seed on contract. The project land's production was seriously damaged by poor weather in 1969 but the group did not change its plans to develop the agricultural potential of the Reserve.

From the perspective of resident participation it is important that the project manager who handled hiring and other day to day decisions was a resident of the Reserve. He was responsible for contracting and purchasing for the Association. In this managerial role he was accountable to the Board of Directors who were also Reserve residents and able to make policy decisions within the terms of reference of the project's operation under a grant from the ARDA agency. The ARDA funding was administered through the Conservation and Land Utilization Branch of the Alberta Department of Agriculture. This resulted in attempts to influence the allocation of the funds and to regulate the pattern of land development undertaken by the Indian group.

In one case senior officials of the government became disturbed because the project implementers chose to ignore the experts' advice on land use practices. The Team coordinator<sup>4</sup> reported that conserva-



tionist planners wanted the Indians to clear and break only parts of the acreage because of the threat of soil erosion in places. He supported the Association in its refusal to accept this imposition which would have seriously reduced the economies of scale of their farming operation. Although he did favour conservation practices the coordinator said he could not agree to impose regulations on the Native group that were not applicable to non-Native farmers in the area. This case indicates that the Association had sufficient autonomy that it could effectively ignore demands of agency officials, at least to the extent of implementing the project on their own terms.

The rural development activities of the Saddle Lake Centennial Development Association were a case of the effective operation of the CED approach at the local level. The Association did not solve all the economic problems of the Reserve but its activities illustrate the potential of this approach to the solution of rural problems.

### The Native Logging Cooperatives

The significant case of the CED approach in the last decade was the provincial government's support of three Native logging cooperatives in northern Alberta. These community enterprises were located at Wabasca, Calling Lake and Faust. In view of the writer's extremely limited access to pertinent documents and important participants, it is possible to present only a cursory case study on the basis of available data and interviews with some participants.<sup>5</sup>

These three logging cooperatives obtained technical expertise, grants and loans from the provincial government to the extent of several hundred thousand dollars during their operation in the latter



part of the decade.<sup>6</sup> The Alberta Commercial Corporation, the Cooperative Activities Branch, ARDA Branch, Community Development Branch and other agencies were involved in the initiation and follow-up assistance that was channelled into these three community enterprises.

One of the most significant contributions of these cooperatives to rural development in the local community is that they were a major source of employment for the Native people.<sup>7</sup> The combined forest and mill site operations of these enterprises offered realistic job opportunities for several hundred Native workers. In the context of the depressed socio-economic conditions of these northern Native communities the locally controlled logging operation was the most viable alternative to continued dependence on social welfare assistance. Employment in logging operations was within the skill range of Native people who often lacked the formal education necessary to find work in other occupations.

There was a tendency for the Native logging cooperatives to place a higher priority on providing local employment, reducing the level of the communities' dependency on welfare and offering in-service training for Native people in industrial type work.<sup>8</sup> The conventional business orientation toward making substantial profits was less important than the social benefits of the new form of economic activity. This caused the operation to be less efficient than some of the privately managed logging enterprises in the area, but spokesmen justified the flexibility of their operations in terms of the greater social effectiveness of this type of business in the context of these poor rural communities.<sup>9</sup>

One of the serious problems facing the cooperatives was the low productivity of the locally available labour force. The local labour





force--Indian, White or Metis--had difficulty in retaining steady employment with the large forestry corporations from outside the area. These operations tended to bring workers in from outside the area to man their operations. The rigidly systematic employment practices and a strong productivity, efficiency, profit orientation of these businesses did not permit compensatory practices that would have made their operations a realistic work situation for the local people. By means of more tolerant managerial practices the logging cooperatives were able to facilitate the difficult adjustment of dependent welfare recipients to new roles in the productive work force of the community enterprise. The cooperative in the Faust area was able to induce several hard core welfare cases to re-enter the labour force gradually through a process of partial employment with the cooperative's land use project.

However, the manpower resources of the communities were generally adequate to handle the forest and mill site operations of the cooperatives. The local people possess the basic skills and the initiative required for work. The cooperative operation was an important source of occupational mobility for the younger members of the community who obtained their basic practical training and experience with the local operation as a pre-requisite to higher paying and more demanding jobs in other industries and other areas of the province. The older men with families in the communities were members of the cooperative, perhaps on the Board of Directors, and they regarded the cooperative enterprise both as a source of employment and an opportunity to participate in leadership decisions in their own community.

In spite of the effectiveness of the logging cooperatives in certain aspects of rural development the enterprises were capable



of only limited economic success. The main obstacles to success in this sphere were the managerial problems faced by these evolving structures in Native communities.<sup>10</sup> These problems were closely related to the cooperatives' difficulty in obtaining sufficient investment capital to set up their operation and continue to meet current expenses as well as cope with the debt and capital equipment needs of the growing enterprise.

It was in this context that agency intervention in the form of direct subsidies, investment capital through loans and inputs of managerial expertise was an important contribution to this process of rural development. Each of the cooperatives negotiated funds and technical assistance from government agencies.

At the end of the decade the provincial government was making adjustments in its support of cooperatives in order to achieve the most effectively balanced 'mix' of inputs of a financial and of a technical nature. The cooperative agency hired two cooperative development officers late in the decade to provide the technical support services that communities require when starting to work within the unfamiliar structure of the logging cooperative. However, in the initial stages of agency intervention in response to the needs of the Native communities the main concern was with meeting the capital needs of the cooperatives with subsidized loans or grants. The government's response to the Wabasca people's march on the provincial legislature was a case in point.<sup>11</sup>

One of the main difficulties in the province's later efforts to increase the technical expertise component of its support for cooperatives was that it was perceived as an instrument of control and supervision rather than as a valuable resource that the agency was



making available to the Native people. Several government officials admitted that the activity of the recently hired cooperative development officers was resented by the Native managers, members of the board and general membership of the autonomous cooperatives.<sup>12</sup> This was confirmed by comments made by participants of the logging enterprises.<sup>13</sup> The agency's attempts to 'tighten up' on the administration of the community enterprises was resisted by local people who regarded it as an interference in the day to day management decisions of the business. The situation was also frustrating to the cooperative development officers who did not have a clear set of guidelines in their technical aid roles with regard to Native cooperatives.<sup>14</sup>

In order to avoid the appearance of a return to agency paternalism that the Native people perceived in this effort to increase the inputs of technical expertise, alternative modes of relating to the cooperative were developed. In one case the Area Development Team in Slave Lake responded to the logging cooperatives request for technical aid by establishing a special fund for this purpose. The Wabasca, Faust and Calling Lake enterprises were able to retain independent forestry management consultants of their choice with the financial support of this special project fund administered by the Team. This arrangement allowed the cooperative management to obtain the managerial expertise that they required without enduring a threat to their business autonomy.

One of the most damaging consequences of the three local enterprises' initial and continuing managerial difficulties was that the logging cooperative became stigmatized in the view of both local people and public officials. Their inability to meet the required loan repayment schedule and other debts was harmful to the communities'





early pride in owning their local logging operation. There was a subsequent alienation of the people from the cooperatives and they ceased to regard them as their own enterprise.<sup>15</sup>

The problem of this stigma of failure was closely related to the nature of the early financial assistance to the cooperatives. Although some of the aid was in the form of direct subsidies such as grant, most of the aid was in the form of hard loans with conventional repayment schedules. These repayments were difficult for groups who had not had previous experience with capital utilization and credit arrangements of this type.

In some sense the stigma of failure was build into the mix of inputs that the agency provided to the community group that had initiated the cooperative. It was recently suggested that the government should recognize the educational aspect of the CED approach to rural development and allow these new enterprises to write off part of their initial financial subsidy as an educational cost.<sup>16</sup> Under this system the enterprise would not be pressured to turn a profit for several years and the group would be eligible for grants in support of the on job training of workers and the social development potential of this type of rural development process.

There was some attempt to find alternative organizational forms for Native businesses that would avoid some of the management difficulties found in the democratic and flat structure of decision making found in the cooperatives.<sup>17</sup> This would provide an efficient but less participatory business structure. This was expected to solve problems of overstaffing, poor marketing decisions, high rates of depreciation on capital equipment and other inefficiencies that tended to weaken the credibility of the logging cooperatives as



vehicles of economic development among the Native people. However, this bureaucratic alternative would reduce the structures' effectiveness as instruments of social development and educational tools that Smyth<sup>18</sup> claims is the essential rationale for this approach to rural development.

The pattern of the logging cooperatives' activities in the last decade illustrates the possibilities, and the problems, of the CED approach to rural development at the local level.

### The Federation of Southern Alberta Indian Cooperatives

On the basis of experience with the CED approach at the local level several Indian groups in Southern Alberta began to use this approach as an instrument for rural development at the regional level. The Federation of Southern Alberta Indian Cooperatives was formed in the latter part of the decade by leaders of community enterprises on the Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan and other Reserves in the region.

In the initial stages the Federation was an umbrella structure designed by the six member cooperatives to provide a vehicle for communication and cooperation between the member enterprises in order to share essential supporting services and develop more viable local enterprises.<sup>19</sup> The Federation was a channel of resources to the local enterprises in the form of technical information, management training, shared consultant services and public education aids such as their audio-visual component. In the later stages of the Federation it began plans for a change of name to indicate its emerging comprehensive approach to enterprise development services among the Native communities of southern Alberta.<sup>20</sup>



From the perspective of the government agencies, the Indian Federation was an autonomous enterprise that functioned as an effective channel of inputs of technical expertise, management training, development planning and financial assistance to the enterprises at the local level. The enterprise at the regional level, that is the Federation, obtained substantial aid in order to maintain and develop its programs of supporting services for the local enterprises. The CED approach in this case operated simultaneously at the local and regional levels as agencies related both to individual cooperatives and to the umbrella structure that supplied services to each of them.

One example of the supporting services provided by the southern Federation was staff and management training program that the group developed on the basis of a \$12,400 grant through the HRDA-ARDA administration.<sup>21</sup> The program was especially designed for the members of the boards of directors of six cooperatives. These included the Blood Reserve Bus Cooperative, the Kainai Cattle Cooperative, the Peigan Cooperatives Enterprises Ltd., the Brocket Indian Cooperative Enterprises Ltd., the Peigan School Bus Drivers' Cooperative and the Blackfoot Cooperative Enterprises Ltd. The Federation's program included training sessions for the directors and members of the enterprises, educational travel assistance and other means of collaboration among the cooperatives themselves and with diverse agencies of government that had resources available for rural development.

This management training program for the local cooperatives was delivered through the Federation staff who were able to call on the resources of other agencies. The establishment of the Federation's head office in Fort McLeod and the appointment of a





Blood Indian as the first Executive Director illustrated the group's commitment to operate a regional enterprise that was very responsive to the service needs of its Indian clientele. The Federation employed Indian field workers who provided cooperative extension and other rural development services in response to requests from any enterprise on the southern Reserves.

Another example of the senior governments' support of this approach through this regional group was the funds and expertise supplied to the Indians' research and program development activities for the Native enterprises. The group hired a staff of three Indian research and planning officers in Calgary who functioned as interpreters and consultants to local enterprises. The local enterprises consulted the team for advice on government policy, industrial development, agricultural development and access to resources for rural development on the Reserves. This research team was especially intended to enable the Indian enterprises to obtain this assistance and information in a form comprehensible to the residents of the Reserves.

A third example of the Federation's activities as the regional umbrella enterprise for the Indian groups was its communications program on the Reserves. The group obtained audio-visual equipment supported by technical and financial assistance from the HRDA Information Services Office that was utilized in the public education activities of the Federation both on an intra- and inter-Reserve basis by the field workers. The group began negotiations to provide extra-Reserve public education services on the subject of rural development in the schools of Calgary as well.<sup>22</sup> The Federation also supplied these services to the Kainai News, an Indian-managed newspaper which focuses on local events of interest to the residents of



the southern Reserves. The audio-visual services complemented the activities of the Blackfoot Radio program which is operated in affiliation with the Alberta Native Communications Society. In this case also the resources of the regional enterprise were used to facilitate rural development efforts at the local level.

### The Three Provincial Native Associations

The emergence of three large scale and effective Native organizations in Alberta during the last decade had a very significant impact on the rural development process in the Indian and Metis communities. Governments' substantial inputs of technical, staff and financial resources into the Indian Association of Alberta, the Metis Association of Alberta and the Alberta Native Communications Society was a case of the CED approach operating at the provincial level. The emergence of the three Native associations as powerful pressure groups and service institutions for their people injected a new dynamism into rural development activities during the latter part of the decade.

Each of the three groups developed as an autonomous force with political, social and economic functions to perform for Native people in Alberta Society. They were particularly significant in their effect on the resident participation dimension of rural development in the Indian and Metis communities. Although each of the groups was an autonomous enterprise with a distinctive role and objectives for their membership, the three generally functioned as a Native coalition in their interaction with senior governments.



The growth of the scope and intensity of Native involvement in the three associations was part of a general trend toward a diversification of participation linkages between Native and mainstream institutions. It was part of an evolutionary process by which Native groups related more and more to regular service agencies other than those special service bureaucracies such as the Indian Affairs Branch and the Metis Rehabilitation Branch which had taken total paternal responsibility for all aspects of the Native people's participation in the larger society. The development of these three strong Native enterprises can be regarded as both the catalyst and the consequence of this trend to release the grip of the monolithic institutions that had formerly mediated all of the Native people's involvement in Albertan society. It was part of the same trend which led to the initiation of the grants-to-bands program for Indian communities in response to growing demands for local autonomy from the Indian Affairs administration. Similarly, the federal government's White Paper on Indian Policy and the Red Paper counter-proposal of the Alberta Indians can be viewed as part of the same process of evolving new patterns of participation for Native people in relation to the urban and affluent mainstream.

When examined in this perspective the Community Enterprise Development approach, as exemplified in the Native coalition, was one of the most powerful forces affecting development goals and opportunities in marginal communities. It was significant that the HRDA-ARDA agency alone funded sixteen rural development projects in response to Native initiative in the two-year period 1968-70. Although only 1.7 million dollars was committed by this agency it was a substantial portion of the rural development budget for this particular agency.<sup>23</sup>





In addition, the Native enterprises obtained larger amounts of funds and development resources from agencies more directly connected with Native community services.

In terms of rural development programs in the province the increased role of the three Native associations tended to alter the pattern of resource allocation and revitalize the process of Native resident participation in the local programs. The members of the Native coalition were independent enterprises that functioned as effective channels for inputs of funds and technical assistance for rural development. But perhaps even more important, from the point of view of rural development was the effect that pressure and encouragement from these three associations had on the operations of rural development agencies in rural Native communities. In this case the Native enterprises acted as mediating structures that supplied the interpreters between the agency and the Native clientele.

The Native associations developed their operation as the interpreters in the Native rural development process with the aid of financial and other support from the senior governments. The agency inputs enabled the Native groups to recruit, train and employ several Native field workers which they assigned to every area of the province that has a significant portion of Native people in the population. Before the Native field workers were deployed by the associations they participated in a jointly sponsored two-month training session to prepare them for the motivational, organizational, interpretive and leadership roles that they had in the Native communities.<sup>24</sup>

By the end of the decade the Metis Association had twenty officially recognized locals and fourteen more pending formation



in the communities served by the nine Metis field workers on staff with the enterprise. There were also 2000 individual members participating in the association as individual members not linked to a specific local. The Metis Association had a total staff of twenty-three for its leadership and service responsibilities.<sup>25</sup>

The Indian Association was implementing a similar program of interpretive services and leadership for its membership. The Indian group preferred to work closely with existing band councils on the Reserves in their efforts to involve people in the decisions taken on policies affecting Indians. The main concern of the Indian Association under the leadership of Harold Cardinal was to encourage the Indian people to fully participate in the process of preparing the Red Paper counterproposal to the federal government's policy position on the future of Treaties and other Indian legislation. The Indian Association had twelve field workers acting as interpreters and advocates for the Reserves in the province.<sup>26</sup>

The twenty-one field workers that the two associations had in the rural areas of Alberta at the end of the decade indicated the possibilities of the CED approach to rural development. The funding arrangement that government agencies had with the associations permitted them to function as independent enterprises on the basis of the grants and loans from government and the revenues from private sources and membership fees. This in turn permitted the Native field workers to operate externally to the government agencies that delivered services to the rural communities. The workers were functionally and administratively accountable to the Native organizations which permitted them to take interpretive roles, advocacy planning roles and even agitational roles in relation to



the formal bureaucracies of government. In this pattern of interaction the field workers were effective instruments to make agencies more responsive to clientele needs and to encourage the Native communities to initiate developmental action of their own.

The consequence of the activity of the field staff of these provincial level Native enterprises was the emergence of a new pattern of Native resident participation on rural development programs at the local level. This new pattern was in some sense parallel to the new pattern of effective and controlled militancy of the Native groups in the political sphere. The new pattern of interaction at the local level involved Native groups in some social action activity and there was a tendency for groups to negotiate with agencies for services and programs as opposed to the traditional passive acceptance of the dependent consumer relationship to government agencies.

The Native associations added a new element to the resident participation dimension of the rural development process. The interpretive function of the Native field workers did not reduce direct contact between civil servants and Native people, but it did improve capacity of Indian and Metis clientele to clearly articulate their needs and enabled them to bring more pressure on agencies to respond meaningfully to the need. In the new pattern of interaction it is less easy for the implementing agency to structure the means of resident participation in rural development to suit the convenience of the administration. With the new element of Native workers in the process it was less likely that there would be purely advisory participation that was the usual consequence of interaction channels being created and controlled by the bureaucratic processes of the government services.<sup>27</sup>





It should be noted that the third member of the Native coalition was providing an essential supporting service for the activities of the Indian and the Metis associations. The Alberta Native Communications Society commenced publication of its newspaper The Native People in 1969 and expanded its radio programming services to several radio stations. The newspaper and radio communications were in both English and in Cree and Blackfoot languages to improve outreach to the Native population of Alberta. The work of the communications group was supported by substantial grants from several agencies of the federal and provincial governments. The newspaper hired a staff of eight Native people and published a twenty-four page monthly that focused on events affecting Native communities in the province. It was also a supportive instrument for the rural development activities of the Indian and the Metis associations by promoting Native participation in the groups and encouraging its readers to take advantage of the services available. The Cree radio programs from Edmonton and other northern centres and the Blackfoot radio program from Calgary had a similar role in the promotion of unity and progress among the Native people.

The three Native enterprises operating at the provincial level were becoming very effective forces in the advancement of Native people by the end of the decade. However, the activities of these groups had been in full operation for only a short time and there was not sufficient experience with the CED approach at this level to permit a valid assessment of their impact on rural development in Alberta. But these enterprises were surely a major force affecting the resident participation dimension of rural development in the latter part of the previous decade.



Footnotes to Chapter V

1. Most of the data for the case study was obtained in a personal interview with Mr. L. Gareau, Mr. E. B. Nagle and an investigation of the original submission and other written material available in the HRDA-ARDA files.
2. ARDA News Release #17, Edmonton, Dec. 20, 1967.
3. HRDA office; "An Evaluation--Saddle Lake" in HRDA Alberta, Vol. 1, Edmonton, 1969.
4. L. Gareau; personal interview notes, 1969.
5. Most of the data for this case study was obtained in field research at the local level and through interviews with government officials responsible for inputs of funds and expertise to these enterprises. See "An Exploratory Study of Native Logging Cooperatives", HRDA Office, Edmonton, 1969. The study was conducted by the researcher.
6. There is no doubt that from a strictly investment perspective the logging enterprises have been dismal failures. Further, there is evidence that the people's experience with the cooperative structure in this case has been a negative rather than a positive case of experiential learning. The problems lie both in the structure itself and in the inadequacies of provincial government policies relating to the CED approach to rural development.
7. W. Reucker; personal interview notes, 1969. The comments were with regard to the enterprise on the south shore of the Slave Lake; J. Nipshank of the Calling Lake operation made similar comments in defense of their cooperative. See also D. Harper; "Helping Indians to Help Themselves" in The Edmonton Journal, February 25, 1970.



8. W. Reucker; personal interview notes, 1969. See also the Cooperative Union of Canada: "Brief to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty", Proceedings of the Senate Committee on Poverty, No. 20, Ottawa, Feb. 12, 1970.
9. W. Reucker; personal interview notes, 1969.
10. This is the assessment of B. Davidson who was employed by Indian Affairs Branch in 1969 to conduct an occupational and functional analysis of Native Cooperatives.
11. C. A. S. Hynam; "An Evaluation of Three Alberta Community Development Projects", Edmonton, preliminary draft paper, 1969. See also, F. Favel; "Wabasca: A Lesson in Politics", Toronto, Student Union for Peace Action, undated.
12. This was noted by both R. Moore and G. Nordstrom who were cooperative development officers for the provincial Department of Industry and Development. N. W. Gilliat confirmed that this attitude was general in the logging cooperatives.
13. The manager of the Calling Lake enterprise, G. Campbell expressed this resentment to the researcher. Similar reactions were reported from G. Auger in Wabasca and A. Lamothe in Faust.
14. R. Moore and G. Nordstrom; personal interview notes, 1969.
15. N. W. Gilliat noted that the Native cooperatives became stigmatized in the eyes of local people as 'government mills' and economic failures--they were not regarded as the local people's own operation. He also noted that the local men much preferred work on fire fighting crews to work with the local enterprise due to the stigma of the cooperative and the prestige of fire fighting. This was in spite of the lower rates of wages in fire fighting operations.





16. The need for such a policy was expressed by J. Ducharme in a meeting of HRDA staff with Mr. Speaker on June 3, 1970.
17. The information that the government was searching for new policies to revitalize local development enterprises was provided by I. Glick of HRDA.
18. F. J. Smyth; "The Development of the Antigonish Movement", in Convergence, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1969, p. 58.
19. HRDA News Release #51, Edmonton, 1969.
20. W. Wells, the young Blood who was appointed first Executive Director of the Federation, indicated this in a personal interview with the writer.
21. HRDA News Release #51, Edmonton, 1969.
22. E. B. Nagle; personal interview notes, 1969.
23. HRDA-ARDA Office, Edmonton, unpublished project proposals, 1969.
24. The Edmonton Journal, April 22, 1969.
25. The Native People, March 1970, p. 1.
26. Ibid.
27. The type of participation that has characterized the operation of the Indian Affairs Branch at the local level is an example of this tendency to use local resident involvement for the purposes of the bureaucracy itself.



## CHAPTER VI

### COMPARATIVE ANALYSES

This chapter is an attempt to analyze the phenomena of resident participation in rural development as presented in the descriptive case studies in the previous chapters. The analysis, comparison and interpretation of the twelve case studies attempts to establish the relationship between the formal and substantive aspects of resident participation and to relate these to the three intervention approaches to rural development in Alberta.

The framework for this examination is a comprehensive analytical instrument constructed by integrating the two typologies of participation and the typology of intervention approaches into a three-variable framework for analysis. The Kramer four-mode typology indicates the formal variable of participation; the Arnstein efficacy scale indicates the substantive variable of participation; and the three-approach typology of rural development indicates the intervention variable. In some sense the typology of developmental approaches is viewed as an independent variable, the typology of modes as an intervening variable and the efficacy ranking as a dependent variable.

The intention of this analysis is to examine the inter-linkage among the approach variable, the participation mode variable and the participation efficacy variable in rural development in Alberta. Figure 6:1 presents the comprehensive analytical framework for the examination. Instances of resident participation observed in the case studies are classified and ranked in terms of the framework.

Each instance of participation within the CDO, ADT and the CED approach is classified according to the mode of involvement and ranked in terms of the framework to indicate the maximum efficacy attained.



Figure 6:1--Efficacy of Resident Participation; by Approach and by Mode

Efficacy Ranking of Cases									
	Mode	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
CDO Approach	A								
	B					k-1, 2, 3, 4.			
	C				k-1, 2.		k-3, 4.		
	D					k-1.	k-4.		
ADT Approach	A								
	B					k-1, 2, 3, 4.			
	C								
	D				k-1, 3, 4.				
CED Approach	A						k-1, 2.	k-3, 4.	
	B					k-1, 2, 3, 4.			
	C					k-2.	k-4.		
	D						k-1, 2.	k-3, 4.	

Key:--Modes: (A) policy decision making; (B) program development advisory;  
(C) social action; (D) agency employment.

The letter 'k' refers to the specific case study of resident participation.





Figure 6:1 is designed to point up the influence that the different developmental approaches had on the mode and efficacy of resident participation. It is also designed to point up the influence that the mode of local involvement had on the efficacy of this involvement. Analysis from this perspective permits comparison of the three approaches in terms of the implications of each for local involvement in the programs. The framework permits a more specific study and comparison of the four modes of involvement in terms of the implications that the alternate modes had for the efficacy of local involvement.

The CDO, ADT and CED approaches are represented on the vertical axis of Figure 6:1 and each approach is further divided on the vertical axis to indicate the four alternate modes of local involvement that are possible according to Kramer's typology.<sup>1</sup> The four modes are: (A) policy decision making; (B) program development advising; (C) social action; (D) agency employment. The four modes are alternative, but not mutually exclusive, ways for local residents to influence the pattern and outcome of rural development activities in their community.

The horizontal axis of the analytical framework is an ordinal scale ranking the instances of participation in terms of their efficacy for the resident participants. This efficacy scale is derived from Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation.<sup>2</sup> The rungs in the efficacy ladder are: (1) manipulation; (2) therapy; (3) informing; (4) consultation; (5) placation; (6) partnership; (7) delegated power; (8) citizen control. This scale is in some sense a measure of the residents' ability to influence or control the activities of rural development agencies in the community. Arnstein notes that rungs (1) and (2) are in fact levels of non-participation that are contrived and ritualistic. She indicates that rungs (3), (4) and (5) are levels of tokenism since local residents



cannot in fact determine what decisions are made in regard to the program and services. She designates rungs (6), (7) and (8) as levels of citizen power where residents have substantial decisional influence and control over the process of development.

The advantage of the comprehensive framework is that it clearly points up the possible inter-linkages between the approach variable and the participation variables. It also points up the inter-linkage between the two participation variables. It is not claimed that the findings establish a direct causal relationship among the variables. However, the findings do suggest that certain modes and levels of efficacy in participation are associated with each specific approach. Similarly, the findings suggest that certain levels of efficacy are associated with certain modes of resident participation. The relationships that are indicated by the findings point up the differences among the case studies and provide the necessary insights for a comparative analysis of participation.

Before proceeding with the analysis it is necessary to reiterate some of the main conceptual and methodological limitations of this study. It should be noted that the particular framework used here tends to over-simplify the process of decision making by assuming a finite pool of societal power with homogeneous groups--the haves and the have-nots--struggling for control of the allocation of resources. Although the over-simplified model misrepresents the pluralistic nature of society, the 'zero-sum game' conception of development generally fits the perceptions of the process held by both residents and agency professionals.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the concept of efficacy does make sense if it is accepted as denoting the effectiveness of the local residents in influencing decisions, relative to the effectiveness of other groups



in a plural society. A main methodological limitation is that the instances of participation were classified and ranked by the researcher on the basis of limited knowledge of the case studies. Further, a panel of judges rather than the assessment of the researcher would have increased the reliability of the ranking procedure. In spite of these limitations this framework facilitates a comparative analysis of resident participation in Alberta's programs for rural development.

#### Participation in the Community Development Officer

Examination of the four case studies of CDO activity and analysis of the tabulated data of Figure 6:1 reveal that there were instances of resident participation in modes (B), (C) and (D). There was a stronger tendency toward the social action mode of participation in the CDO case studies than in the other approaches. Each of the CDO studies contains an instance of social action, each contains an instance of advisory participation and two cases contain instances of agency employment of residents.

The four cases of CDO activity--Fort McMurray, Slave Lake, Saddle Lake and Lac La Biche--contain no instances of resident involvement in mode (A). The fact that CDO activity does not have this form of local involvement is mainly a consequence of the criteria defining this approach which preclude the policy making function. In instances where CDO activity occurred in the context of resident policy participation it was classified as an example of the CED approach. It should be noted that CDO activity stimulates resident participation in mode (A) in other programs. Residents became involved in this mode of interaction with agencies as a 'spin-off' result of the CDOs' enabling activity. The





large number of cooperatives, associations and other enterprises that emerged in the rural community were often the product of the CDO's social animation efforts in the community. The Nistawoyow groups in Fort McMurray, the development association in Slave Lake, the consumer cooperative in Saddle Lake and the Pe-Ta-Pan Association in Lac La Biche are examples of community enterprises emerging as 'spin-off' from CDO activity. However, the CDO's activities were not directly accountable to a policy making group with resident members, thus mode (A) participation is not found in these case studies.

Each of the case studies of CDO activity contained instances of participation in the program development advisory mode (B). In Figure 6:1 these cases are ranked at no greater than the fifth (placation) level of efficacy. In this advisory mode of involvement local people are viewed as consumers of agency services and encouraged to provide feedback that would help the agency to plan and deliver programs that are more responsive to the needs of the residents.

In the Fort McMurray case the CDO established an employment and ombudsman service to meet the needs of the Native residents. Much of the advisory feedback from the CDO's clientele was on an informal basis, although he also consulted the local Native organizations which were an important channel of feedback. The CDO encouraged advice and other forms of feedback from his clientele but he retained the privilege of judging the feasibility of the residents' views. Given the advisory role of the residents in this situation their efficacy in influencing the CDO's work did not get beyond the fifth (placation) rung of the ladder.

In the Slave Lake case the CDO spent the initial period of his service conducting an extensive house to house survey to obtain



information about the needs and priorities of residents. This consultation process in the community enabled him to adjust his operation in response to the residents' expectations of him. Similarly the CDO worked with local groups to assist them in articulating their needs. The Natives were able to gain their objective in their conflict with other groups who objected to Native homes in an expensive residential area. The government placated the resident group that asked for a study of the flood situation on the Lake, although they did not follow the terms of reference of the local request for aid. Government agencies also ignored the advice of local people on the matter of emergency housing for flood victims. These instances indicate that as advisors the residents had no efficacy beyond the fifth (placation) level of the scale.

In the Saddle Lake case the residents' advisory role was participation in an intensive sociometric survey conducted by the CDO in the initial phase of his work. The survey revealed the informal influence structure of the Reserve and provided reliable feedback on the interests and needs of the community. The CDO suggested that the Band Council should utilize this mode of resident participation to involve more people in the Band decision-making process and make the Council more responsive to the community. The residents also conducted a community self-survey to get feedback on local priorities. The fact that the Band Council declined to respond to the community's request indicates that their efficacy remained at the fifth (placation) rung of the ladder.

The Lac La Biche case of participation in mode (B) is similar in that resident efficacy does not get beyond the consultation and placation levels. The counselling team acted as an outreach mechanism for the Newstart agency in the initial stages of activity. On the



basis of the advisory feedback that the agency got from the residents, it designed programs and research projects for training. The decision making power was firmly in the hands of the agency, residents were encouraged to provide token advice in planning and feedback on implementation, but the response was totally contingent on the agency's initiative.

The most controversial mode of local involvement that occurred in the CDO case studies was mode (C)--resident participation in social action. In this mode of participation the local community mobilizes as a political constituency to act as a pressure group on some significant issue or in pursuit of certain benefits for the community. The social action mode of involvement seeks to gain advantage for the marginal community by redistributing power and altering the pattern of resource allocation in society to a new balance that is more beneficial to the marginal group.

Each of the cases of CDO activity showed a tendency for resident participation to evolve towards a social action mode of involvement. In Fort McMurray the group of Native residents engaged in a limited form of social action on the issue of the workers' grievances with the petroleum company. After holding public meetings to discuss the issue, a group of workers decided to blockade the town bridge. The demonstration was carried out in spite of the CDO's advice against the action. The company responded to the ad hoc residents' group only by offering to investigate grievances that were submitted by individual Natives through the proper channels. The company effectively limited the social action group to the fourth (consultation) level of efficacy. The residents were heard but did not have to be heeded. Since the group was not well organized and unable to negotiate firmly for a more





meaningful response from the company, local efficacy was restricted to the fourth rung of the ladder.

The ranking of Figure 6:1 indicates that the Slave Lake case of resident involvement in the social action mode was also limited to the fourth (consultation) level of efficacy. The social action group did not, in fact, mobilize beyond suggestions that local residents stage a protest march to Edmonton. A few members of the emerging local development association felt that a protest march would dramatize the area's need for special rural development assistance. However, the CDO and other members objected to the plan and the group decided to take less direct measures to confront the government officials with their needs. Officials consulted the group about the local problems but there was little immediate response beyond discussion and more research.

An analysis of the social action mode of resident participation in the Saddle Lake case study indicates that it was more effective than the previous cases. There is some evidence that the residents attained the sixth (partnership) level of the ladder for a brief period during the confrontation. The CDO's stimulation of formerly powerless groups on the Reserve resulted in the mobilization of a strong ad hoc pressure group. This group confronted the established powerholders on the issue of the vote to terminate the CDO. The social action group forced the Band Council to hesitate, negotiate and reverse its decision in this instance. The group was articulate and effective in bargaining with the Council on this specific issue and the Council members did agree to placate the group by retaining the CDO. However, in terms of efficacy the case fell back to the placation level, within the range of tokenism, since the resident group did not press on to formalize a shared power arrangement with the Band Council.



In the Lac La Biche case local residents were able to use the social action mode of participation more effectively and they attained the sixth (partnership) level of efficacy in their area for a more sustained period of time. The social action group mobilized local support on the training centre issue, occupied and held the centre for more than three weeks, and eventually sent a delegation to Ottawa to negotiate a better rural development arrangement for the community. After the social action group obtained its immediate objectives with regard to the Newstart training facilities, they pressed on to get a federal commitment of funds to the area, established an area development board, and entered a process of shared planning for the development of the community's resources. The ranking in Figure 6:1 places this case within the sixth rung of the ladder which is within the resident control range of the scale of efficacy. However, it is too early to assess whether Lac La Biche residents can continue to participate at this level, or whether the present arrangement with the Pe-Ta-Pan Association will slip back to the tokenism range of local involvement.

The other form of resident participation observed in the context of CDO activity was mode (D)--the direct employment of local residents by the rural development agency. Only the Fort McMurray and Lac La Biche cases contain instances of this mode of involvement. In Fort McMurray two Native field workers were hired to assist local Native employees to obtain and retain jobs with the petroleum resource development companies. They also conveyed feedback and advice from clientele to government agencies. Resident efficacy is ranked at the fifth (placation) level since the Natives activity as outreach workers enabled the agency to be responsive to local preferences and priorities.



As the field workers stimulated a more articulate clientele and informed them of possible benefits, government agencies could choose to respond and placate particular local demands.

In the Lac La Biche case, mode (D) was a more crucial channel of resident participation. The Newstart CDO director recruited and trained a six-man team of Native residents to function as a community counselling and outreach instrument for the agency. In the initial stages of their work with the agency the Native workers were a means to local involvement at the fifth (placation) level of efficacy. They were able to influence the activity of the agency only to the extent that the agency was convinced that changes were necessary. In their later roles as consultants and advocates, during the social action mode of local involvement, the Native workers helped the community attain the sixth (partnership) level of efficacy as the local residents were able to negotiate a shared decision making arrangement with the federal government agency.

In summary, Figure 6:1 indicates instances of local involvement in CDO activity in modes (B), (C) and (D). The residents achieved the highest levels of efficacy in the social action mode--and the employment mode relating to the social action incident. Other instances of social action are at lower levels of efficacy. There are several instances of resident involvement in mode (A) at the consultation and placation levels of efficacy. Residents achieved high levels of efficacy in instances of CED activity that occurred as a 'spin-off' from the social animation activities of the CDOs.





## Participation in the Area Development Team Approach

Examination of the four case studies of ADT activity and analysis of the information in Figure 6:1 reveals that only modes (B) and (D) were available channels for local involvement in the ADT approach as it was implemented in Alberta. There was a definite tendency to make extensive use of the program development advisory mode (B) of resident participation in ADT programming. There is one case of the extensive use of mode (D) and two cases where this direct employment of local residents was a smaller component of the ADT activity.

The four cases of ADT intervention--Edson, St. Paul, Peace River and Slave Lake--contain no instances of local resident participation in mode (A)--the direct policy decision making form of local involvement. In each of the cases there were instances of residents acting to influence policy decisions, but these were advisory functions and the local residents were not members of the structure responsible for the decisions. The agency's clear distinction between 'sanction' and 'action' leaders is the clearest indication that resident representatives were to advise the agency and legitimize its activities, but not to make decisions or initiate activities. Participation was clearly restricted to advisory and other modes of local involvement in the ADT operation.

The case studies contain several instances of resident involvement in mode (B) in which local people were expected to function as program advisors to the Team. This was essentially a process of obtaining feedback from residents who were consumers of the agency services in order to design and deliver programs and services that were responsive to the needs of local residents. The classification scheme of Figure 6:1



indicates that the program development advisory mode (B) was the most common channel for local involvement in the rural development activities initiated by the agency Team in the area.

In the Edson area case the significant feature of local advisory participation is that there were instances of this involvement at five different levels of efficacy. Local participation was at the first (manipulation) and second (therapy) levels in the initial stages of the Team's activity in the area. This was observed in the leadership training sessions in 1965 where the research-selected leaders were 'educated' about the needs and resources of the area. They also received 'therapy' to cure them of factionalism and parochialism that the agency feared would cause cleavage among the communities of the area. These sessions also included local involvement at the third (informing) and fourth (consultation) levels since the residents were informed of the ARDA agency's scope of activity and the possible range of programs was introduced. They were consulted about their preferences in planning and implementing the rural development project.

The zone, special purpose and regional advisory committees were constructed as channels of local participation in a program advisory capacity to the agency. Residents were involved at the fifth capacity (placation) level of efficacy in these structures. The regional council reviewed and approved all project submissions from the area, but these had to be ratified by senior agency officials. The fact that there were unilateral changes made in the land clearing and access road proposals, contrary to the preferences of the local residents, is strong evidence that local efficacy did not get beyond the higher levels of tokenism. The agency would hear the residents, it did not have to heed them: it would placate the residents by responding to their initiative



if it were judged feasible in terms of the agency. The later complaints of the chairman of the residents' regional council that it was 'only a sounding board' confirm this assessment of the capacity of residents to influence agency decisions.

The St. Paul case had a different pattern of resident advisory involvement but Figure 6:1 indicates that the efficacy ranking was also at the fifth (placation) level. The Team initiated a dialogue with residents in regard to the development of local projects in the area and encouraged residents to submit proposals to senior officials. The failure to gain approval for several locally initiated projects indicates that resident efficacy was limited to the placation level. The perceptions of both Sykes and Gareau, noted above, confirm this assessment of the limited effectiveness of local influence in the process of rural development in the community. The agency officials accepted local initiatives but they refused to ratify activities that were at variance with agency priorities or policies.

In the Peace River area case study there is evidence that involvement was also limited to some consultation and involvement at the fifth (placation) level of local efficacy. The Team engaged in informal dialogue with residents, held public meetings and established local farm adjustment committees with joint membership. There is some evidence that the efficacy of local participation on the farm adjustment committees might extend beyond tokenism to the partnership level on the efficacy scale. The committee is dominated by farmer representatives--but they depend on government professionals for advice and the terms of reference for the committees restrict them to an advisory role. It is thus the prerogative of the government officials to respond in terms of the resident-agency joint committees advice. It is thus a situation of





government placation of local demands, rather than a partnership negotiated in which the residents have some capacity for control.

The Slave Lake area case study indicates that resident participation up to this point has been mainly in the advisory mode (B) at an efficacy level of five (placation). Assessment of this case must be tentative since the project had only progressed to the planning and approval, but not the implementation phase in the case study. The efficacy ranking of five was based on the fact that the Team consulted with groups and individuals in the area and designed a tentative catalogue of needs rather than a rigid blueprint for programming in the area. This was in response to the residents' demands that a flexible funding arrangement should be approved so that local people would have a more immediate influence to alter the project during the implementation phase. This commitment from the Team suggests that resident efficacy could reach the sixth (partnership) rung on the efficacy ladder if this arrangement is confirmed and the Team establishes a shared decision making structure where residents have an element of control over the activities of the Team in the Slave Lake communities.

None of the case studies of the ADT approach contain instances of local involvement in the social action mode within the operation of the agency itself. It should be noted that the initiation of the Team's activity in Slave Lake was partly the consequence of social action taken by residents in 1968 when they met the cabinet and pressed for special rural development programs in the area. However, the residents' involvement in social action was not integral to the Team's activity in the area; it was in fact a 'spin-off' from CDO type intervention in the area.



The Team in the Edson area guided resident leaders through a problem solving exercise that the officials referred to as 'the social action process' for decision making. However, the residents' participation in this process was more advisory than social action in form and it was at the first (manipulation) and second (therapy) rungs of the efficacy scale. This form of local involvement does not fall within the typology (C) outlined by Kramer since it is not based on an effort to mobilize a political constituency to bring influence to bear on decision makers with regard to a local issue or in pursuit of a more equitable allocation of resources in society.

One way to interpret the absence of the social action mode of resident participation within this approach to development is to observe that the Team's activity is based on rationalistic and economic assumptions about the causes of rural poverty.<sup>4</sup> It does not view the area population as an underdeveloped social and political constituency that must increase its capacity to influence the decision making processes of society.<sup>5</sup> Given the fundamental premises of the Team intervention the social action mode is less compatible here than with the other approaches.

The only other channel for resident participation in the Team's activity is mode (D)--the direct employment of local residents as para-professional staff with the agency. Analysis of Figure 6:1 indicated that three cases of the Team operation contain instances of resident participation in this mode.

The most extensive use of this channel for local involvement was in the Edson area where several local people were employed by the agency. These resident staff persons were hired to improve the responsiveness of the agency to local preferences and to increase its



outreach in the community. This also contributed to the legitimization of the agency's activities in the area. Interpretation of the case study indicated that this mode of local involvement was at the third (informing) and fourth (consultation) levels of the efficacy scale. Indigenous staff participants were effective at the informing level in the home visitors' program and as community advisors for the Team. They were effective liaison staff for the Team's advisory consultation with the local residents. The relatively low assessment of the efficacy of this form of involvement is based on the frustration of local preferences with regard to land clearing, access roads and other projects. The residents could engage in only limited public criticism of the employing agency's rejection of these grassroots preferences. The limited efficacy is attributable to their inability to influence the upper echelons of the agency to respect local wishes, or alternately, the employed residents may have been coopted by the agency and become proponents of agency objectives rather than advocates for local priorities.

This mode of resident participation was utilized by both the Peace River area and the Slave Lake area teams, particularly in response to the need to sensitize the government teams to its function in the Native communities in these areas. The Peace River Team employed a Native field worker for the purpose of outreach, liaison and maintaining a dialogue with reserves and colonies in the region. The Slave Lake Team employed two Native field workers as Cree interpreters in the consultation process with the Native communities. Another Native person was employed as a senior Team member during the planning phase of the Slave Lake project. The residents generally functioned at the fourth (consultation) level of efficacy in most instances documented by the case studies. There is some evidence that residents could influence the





agency internally to the extent of obtaining a placating response to local initiatives for rural development.

In summary, Figure 6:1 contains instances of local resident participation in the ADT activity in modes (B) and (D). There are no instances of local involvement in policy or social action modes in the strict sense of these typologies. Generally there is little evidence that resident efficacy was sustained at a level above the range of tokenism on the Arnstein ladder. The joint committees on farm adjustment have potential efficacy at the sixth (partnership) level although the extremely narrow terms of reference decreases their opportunity to effectively pursue local objectives. Program advisory participation had limited efficacy at the fifth (placation) level in influencing the teams' activities through the advisory structures established by the agency.

#### Participation in the Community Enterprise Development Approach

Analysis of participation in the four case studies of the CED approach indicates that each of the four modes of resident involvement was available to local people. Figure 6:1 reveals that modes (A), (B) and (D) were open for resident participation in each of the case studies of CED activity. Resident involvement by way of mode (C) occurred in only two of the cases.

Interpretation of the findings contained in Figure 6:1 points up the fact that both the scope and the effectiveness of resident participation were generally greater in the CED approach to rural development than in the other cases. It is significant that the CED approach contains the only instances of direct resident participation



in policy decision making as in mode (A). This mode of involvement is associated with high levels of efficacy, as is expected from the defining criteria of the mode (A), which require that local people have at least some voting members on the board responsible for the operation in the community. This is parallel to a defining characteristic of the CED approach which is that the agency must interact with, and supply supportive inputs to, an autonomous organization in the client community. In some sense then it is inevitable that local involvement in mode (A) would be an essential component of the CED approach to rural development.

Each of the CED case studies contain instances of local involvement in policy decision making. In the first CED case study, that of the Saddle Lake Centennial Development Association, several residents of the Reserve formally set up an enterprise to develop the agricultural resources of the community. The all-Native board of directors was responsible for the policy decisions that guided the enterprise, working with the technical assistance of government agencies. The board employed a local resident, who was a successful farmer on the Reserve, as the manager in charge of implementation of the project. The instance that most clearly indicates the local residents' control over policy matters on the project was the confrontation with senior officials who attempted to enforce strict conservation practices on the project. The Association pointed out that other farmers in the area were not expected to operate with such inefficient land development procedures and they refused to accept the policy. It should be noted that the local group received the support of the St. Paul resource coordinator in this situation. On the basis of these observations the case is ranked at the sixth



(partnership) level on the efficacy scale. The local resident group had enough control of the project itself that they could prevent unilateral action on the part of the agency.

The second CED case study, the Native logging cooperatives, also involved local people in the policy making functions of their community-owned enterprises. Within the framework of the regulations governing cooperative enterprises in Alberta, the boards of directors were able to establish policies for the logging operations. They were also able to employ managerial staff and technical consultants on the basis of local decisions. The case studies clearly indicate the extent of the managerial and productivity problems faced by the Native enterprises, but for the purpose of this analysis it is significant that the cooperatives were able to negotiate an arrangement with the agency for financial and technical assistance that permitted the residents to retain a large degree of control over the operations of the enterprise.

The ranking system of Figure 6:1 places the Native logging cooperatives at the sixth (partnership) level of efficacy to indicate the capacity of the local residents to maintain the dominant control over the operation. One instance of the type of partnership arrangement that does not permit unilateral alteration in the ground rules of agency-enterprise interaction was the issue that emerged when the government attempted to step up its inputs of technical aid to the cooperatives. The cooperative leaders viewed some of the activities of the newly appointed cooperative development officers as undue interference in the day-to-day business affairs of the cooperatives. The enterprises objected to this and through a process of give-and-take with the agencies concerned the arrangement was clarified. The government also created a project fund with the Slave Lake task





force that the cooperatives could tap to retain forestry management consultants of their own choice.

The third case study, the Federation of Southern Alberta Indian Cooperatives, contains instances of local resident involvement in policy decisions regarding the group's activity at the regional level. The Federation's Board of Directors, consisting of representatives from each of the member Native enterprises on the Indian Reserves, established overall policies for the Federation. These were implemented by the Federation staff which was mostly Native as well.

The ranking scheme of Figure 6:1 places the Federation at the seventh (delegated power) level of resident efficacy. The significant feature of this level of efficacy is that the local residents have the dominant influence in the decision making of the program and the enterprise has been delegated the power and the resources to carry out certain specified programs and services. In the case of the Federation the government supplied the enterprise with the necessary resources to initiate a system of supporting services for its member Native cooperatives.

In the fourth case study, of the three provincial Native associations, it was found that the Native people were involved in policy decision making at the provincial level, in matters relating to the operation of the associations. The governing boards of these three--the Indian Association of Alberta, the Metis Association of Alberta and the Alberta Native Communications Society--were controlled by the Native membership. The ranking scheme of Figure 6:1 places this case of resident participation in mode (A) at the seventh (delegated power) level of efficacy. The essential features of the interaction between these three groups and the provincial government was that the



terms of reference of the operation were negotiated and the Native enterprises were delegated specified authority and supplied with resources to plan and implement programs and services required by the Native community of Alberta. The process of negotiating this arrangement continues each year and the Native enterprises interact with the government on this basis. They also obtain funds from other sources to implement programs delegated to them by various agencies concerned with social and economic development in Alberta's Native community.

The case studies of the four enterprises contain several instances of resident participation in mode (B), the program advisory way of local involvement. There were both intra and extra-enterprise aspects of this participation, although it was a relatively minor part of local involvement in CED activity. In the intra-enterprise process of advisory participation, the enterprise itself regarded its clientele as a source of consumer feedback to enable the organization to improve its outreach, expand its program and make it more responsive to local people. In addition, there was the extra-enterprise process of advisory participation wherein the enterprise was viewed as a valuable source of clientele feedback for an agency of the senior government.

The ranking scheme of Figure 6:1 places this form of program advisory participation at the fifth (placation) level of the efficacy scale. At this level the community is able to engage in a dialogue with the established power holders with an even chance of getting the desired response if the advice is very well articulated and based on sufficient technical expertise. But the findings suggest that, by the very nature of this mode of local involvement, there can be only placation levels of efficacy. It is apparent that because it is a



program advisory form of participation it cannot exceed the range of tokenism on the Arnstein scale. It may be influential in determining outcomes of decision processes in rural development programming. But since it is external to these decision processes there is no certainty that local preferences will be responded to by the agency, especially at the policy making levels of government.

The case studies of the four enterprises contain two instances of resident participation in mode (C), the social action pattern of local effort to influence development activities. In the case of the Native logging cooperatives it was noted that the residents of Wabasca mobilized themselves to march on the provincial government in Edmonton. With encouragement from the CDO in the community the Native residents engaged in social action to obtain more meaningful support for their community controlled logging enterprise.<sup>6</sup> The social action strategy was able to convince the government of the need for responsive programs.<sup>7</sup> The ranking scheme of Figure 6:1 places this case of CED activity in the social action mode at the fifth (placation) level of local efficacy. The social action group was well organized and articulate and was placated by the government which could not ignore the residents' assertion of needs and priorities.

In the case of the three Native organizations in Alberta it was noted that these enterprises sought to achieve political, cultural and social objectives in addition to their concern for the economic well being of the Native people in the province. The Indian Association of Alberta was quite effective in its use of the social action mode of participation in their strong opposition to the federal government's White Paper on Indian Policy.<sup>8</sup> Guided by the skilled leadership of the Indian Association, the Indian Bands of Alberta were mobilized to





reject the method of consultation used by the Indian Affairs Branch in formulating the White Paper. They also rejected the policies and procedures that the government proposed to increase the opportunities and end discrimination against Native people in government agencies.

By means of strong lobbying, public relations work, and other strategies, the Indian group reached a stalemate with the government and obtained the time and resources required to prepare and present Native counter-proposals in the Red Paper, ultimately titled Citizens Plus.<sup>9</sup> The whole process displayed skillful coalition building and effective mobilization of a political constituency by the social action group. This case is placed at the sixth (partnership) level of efficacy on the framework of Figure 6:1. The group was able to enter into a process of negotiation with the government and eventually achieved a shared power arrangement with the senior governments.

One of the most significant findings to emerge from the analysis of the case studies of CED activity is the strong tendency for resident controlled enterprises to use mode (D), the direct employment of local people, as an important channel for resident participation in rural development activities. The Saddle Lake and the Native logging cooperatives are placed at the sixth (partnership) level of efficacy on the Figure 6:1 ranking scheme. The Federation and the three Native associations are at the seventh (delegated power) level of efficacy. It should be noted that these rankings are analogous to the efficacy scale ratings of the enterprises in the policy making mode.

In the Saddle Lake Association case study it was observed that more than one hundred local people were employed by the enterprise in the implementation phase of the project. Native residents were also employed in the managerial positions of the enterprise. The



case is ranked as a partnership since the local group negotiated for financial and technical assistance and was able to make its own managerial and employment decisions.

Analysis of the study of the Native logging cooperatives reveals a similar pattern of local partnership with government agencies. Each of the cooperative enterprises employed large crews of local residents and the management level decisions were made by policy making boards and executive staffs that were accountable to the local residents.

In the case of the Federation at Fort MacLeod, the efficacy of resident participation was placed at the seventh (delegated power) level on the ranking scheme of Figure 6:1. In this case several local Natives were employed as field workers for the regional Federation to provide supportive technical and general extension services for the member enterprises. The Federation which employed them had in turn been delegated the authority and the resources to design and implement these programs to meet the particular local needs of the southern Indian Reserves.

The three provincial Native associations also employed both core staff and field workers from the Native communities. They operated at the level of delegated authority in responding to local needs, interpreting government policy in the Native communities and designing programs for Native communities. In one instance of this mode of resident participation the Native group was delegated the power and the resources necessary to publish the Native People and the Kainai News. These are examples of Native participation in enterprises established by the Native people themselves to undertake programs and services for the development of human and physical resources in the Native communities of Alberta.



In summary, Figure 6:1 indicates that the CED approach to rural development contained instances of resident participation in each of the four possible modes: (A), (B), (C) and (D). Residents achieved consistently high levels of local efficacy in the policy making and direct employment modes of involvement in the CED operation. Resident participation in the advisory mode was limited to the placation level in the CED approach just as it was in the CDO and ADT approaches. Participation in the social action mode occurred in two cases in the CED operation, often in the context of CDO encouragement. The social action mode was effective at the placation and the partnership levels in achieving particular local objectives in the rural development programs.

#### A Comparative Perspective

The previous analyses of participation within the CDO, ADT and CED approaches to rural development point to some of the relationships among the three variables examined here. It is possible to make preliminary comparisons of the three approaches on the basis of the number of instances of participation that were observed in the case material on each approach.

Since there are four case studies of each approach and since four alternate modes of resident participation are identified in the thesis, the maximum number of instances of participation possible is sixteen for each approach. For comparative purposes it is significant that there were ten instances of participation observed in the CDO approach, seven instances observed in the ADT approach and fourteen instances observed in the CED approach. Rigorous inferences are impossible from





such a limited number of cases but the findings do indicate that the CED approach to rural development provides more scope for local involvement than do the others.

In this context it is further noted that the CED approach was the only approach that contained instances of participation in each of the four modes identified in this analysis. The CDO approach had instances in three modes and the ADT approach had instances only in two modes. This analysis indicates that the approach variable and the formal variable of participation are inter-linked. There is limited evidence to indicate that the CED approach is associated with a larger amount and a wider variety of resident participation. The CDO approach is associated with less participation than the CED approach but more than in the ADT approach.

Another source of insight is an examination of the inter-linkage between the approach variable and the efficacy variable of participation. The comparison above indicated that the CED approach is associated with greater amounts of resident participation; a similar analysis on the basis of efficacy indicates that the CED approach is associated with a greater efficacy of resident participation. Again, the limited number of case studies makes inferences difficult, but a straight comparison of efficacy is productive. The average efficacy ranking of the CED approach in Figure 6:1 is 5.6, the average for the CDO approach is 5 and the average for the ADT approach is 4.6. A tentative inference can be made that resident participation in the CED approach permits greater local influence over the decisions and activities of rural development in Alberta. The finding that the average efficacy ranking for the ADT approach was 4.6 and the fact that there were no instances in which resident efficacy got beyond the placation level



indicates the limited amount of influence that local involvement had within the ADT approach to rural development. The findings indicate that the CDO approach was conducive to a more effective level of local involvement than the ADT approach, although it was significantly less effective than resident participation in the CED approach.

It should be noted that there is one instance of participation that is common to each of the three approaches. Each of the twelve case studies had an instance of resident participation in cell B-5 which is local involvement in program development advising at the placation level of efficacy. The fact that every case contains this type of participation indicates that it is the most popular channel of local influence. An alternate interpretation is that this type of participation is most often solicited by the government agencies.

Comparisons of the findings in Figure 6:1 also point up the inter-linkage between the mode of participation and the efficacy of this participation. The findings indicate substantial differences in the efficacy of participation associated with differences in the mode of participation. The inter-linkage between the formal and the substantive variables of participation is pointed up by a comparison of the average efficacy ranking for each mode of involvement.

The average efficacy ranking for instances of participation in mode (A) is 6.5 based on the four cases of CED activity which is the only approach that permits resident involvement in policy decision making. The average efficacy ranking for the twelve instances of participation in mode (B) is 5, in fact all cases are at this level. The average ranking for the six cases of participation in mode (C) is 5.25 and the average for the nine cases of participation in mode (D) is 5.4.



It is difficult to make inferences on the basis of such limited findings as those of Figure 6:1, but there is sufficient evidence to indicate that there are significant differences in the efficacy levels attained by residents participating within the four modes. Rather than generalize on the basis of the findings of an exploratory study such as this, the findings are simply presented for the comparative insights that the evidence provides.<sup>10</sup> The finding that resident involvement in mode (A)--policy decision making--has the highest level of efficacy has implications for social policies in development programs. From the same perspective the relatively lower effectiveness of mode (B)--program development advisory participation--has implications for social policy, especially since it is the most commonly used mode of involvement.

The comparative assessment of the findings point to a significant inter-relationship between the formal and the substantive variables of the participation dimension. However, more extensive and rigorous research is required to fully document the tentative findings here that point to a significantly lower level of efficacy in the most commonly available mode of local involvement. Similarly more study is required to substantiate the indications that residents have a comparatively lower efficacy when involved in the ADT approach. This is especially critical in view of the present trend in the province toward greater emphasis on the ADT approach to rural development. The implications of this comparative analysis of the inter-linkage among the variables of rural development are examined further in the concluding chapter of the thesis.





## Interpretation of Findings

The previous analysis of the case studies of resident participation in terms of the mode and efficacy of involvement pointed up some of the causal factors and implications of the particular pattern emerging from the observations of Figure 6:1. Further insights and explanatory relationships are obtained through the application of interpretive tools developed by Selznick in his organizational analysis of the TVA.<sup>11</sup>

In his analysis Selznick employed the concept of cooptation to describe the mechanism that agency officials used to induce both client and competitive groups to cooperate in the implementation of the Tennessee Valley Authority's program. He differentiates between the formal and informal modes of cooptation that occurred as the agency induced other groups to share in the decision making process of the regional development effort.<sup>12</sup> The formal mode of cooptation involves sharing the burden of decisions with the local people but it does not imply actual transfer of power to the coopted group. Selznick further notes that the mechanism of formal cooptation fulfills both the political function of legitimizing the agency's program and the administrative function of establishing reliable channels for communication and direction. The forms of participation are emphasized but action is channelled to fulfill administrative functions while preserving the locus of significant decision making in the hands of the initiating agency.

Selznick notes that the mechanism of informal cooptation is an agency's adaptive response to its institutional environment. Typical of this is the agency's sharing of actual authority with an administrative constituency of other agencies and interest groups in the area. The response is not in terms of the clientele but in terms of adjusting



policies and programs in order to survive in coordinated activity with established agencies in the area. He notes that the agency is informally dependent on the resources and social power held by the coopted agencies. By absorbing these elements into its policy making structure the agency's range of choice is restricted, its objectives and modes of action altered as it tends to take on the characteristics of the administrative constituency to which it is committed.

Analysis of the case studies in terms of the concepts of formal and informal cooptation brings out evidence of both modes of cooptation in the rural development process in Alberta. In some sense each of the instances of resident participation in the program advisory mode has the character of formal cooptation. This is less the case when the agency interacts with an autonomous community group which is approached for feedback and proposals for rural development in the area. However, in the case of the program advisory structures, deliberately established by government agencies seeking to involve local residents in their activities, the probability of formal cooptation is very great. This is significant in terms of resident efficacy which is a primary concern of this thesis. This analysis suggests that, in cases where formal cooptation occurs and the community and agency objectives diverge, the local objectives are subordinate to agency objectives.

The observations of the case studies indicate that formal cooptation occurred to a large extent in regard to the ARDA agency's work in the province. This was particularly the case in the Edson area where elaborate resident involvement structures were established for shared decision making with the Team. In fact, the program advisory structures had a limited impact on the decisions taken by the higher echelons of the ARDA agency. In terms of resident efficacy, this



resulted in severe frustration of the coopted participants who found themselves unable to influence decisions critical to the local community. The regional, zone, special purpose and farm adjustment committees in the ARDA case studies each have evidence of this process. In the Edson area especially, another indication of the formal cooptation mechanism was the use of the program advisory groups as the agency channels for communication, outreach and direction to the grassroots of the Edson area. The advisory structures were effective in facilitating one-way communication from the agency to the target clientele. These channels were less effective in initiating a two-way dialogue in which the needs and priorities of local people could have a substantial impact on the outcomes of the agency-community interaction.

Analysis of the ARDA case studies also points up the evidence of informal cooptation in the rural development program. Many of the ARDA funded program were administered through local institutions and agencies. One result was that the ARDA agency, through its technical panel and other administrative links, informally accepted these agencies as its administrative constituency and adapted its policies and objectives in order to survive. The experience in the Edson area also confirms Selznick's<sup>13</sup> observation that informal cooptation enables the existing agencies to influence policies to a greater extent than can the formally coopted structures of program advisory participation, which are mainly used as outreach channels for the government programs. The fact that most services and programs in the Edson area were simply extensions of traditional activities with an added element of federal funding is a strong indication that the administrative constituency of ARDA within the government bureaucracy was more influential than the client constituency of advisory groups in influencing the pattern of ARDA activities





in the area. This is further documented by the large portion of research and conservationist projects in the area, which were implemented by provincial agencies with a strong physical resource orientation.<sup>14</sup> This is in contrast to the failure of the local farmers to get direct assistance for land development which was a high priority in the view of the residents.<sup>15</sup>

The Edson case study is illustrative of the operation of formal and informal cooptation as it functioned to limit the efficacy of resident participation in rural development. To a certain extent the relatively lower efficacy rankings for the cases of ADT activity can be interpreted to result from the tendency toward cooptation in this approach to development programming. Figure 6:1 indicates that the ADT operations had lower efficacy rankings in mode (D) and generally lower rankings in mode (B). Applying cooptation as an interpretive concept, these findings can be attributed to a tendency for local residents employed by the agency to be coopted and lose their responsiveness to the local situation. Local persons employed by an agency using the CDO approach might also be coopted but the basically localistic and program-less operation of the CDOs reduces the probability that cooptation will occur. In the case of CED operations there is even less chance that employees will be coopted because the whole development program is accountable more to the community than it is to the central decision makers of the government agency that has an arrangement to provide supportive services to the locally operated enterprise.

The high levels of resident efficacy observed in the CED operations ranked in Figure 6:1 illustrate that local influence internal to the decision making process is a critical factor in achieving



programs responsive to local perceptions and priorities. There is a strong possibility of cooptation in this mode of involvement only if residents are in a minority on the governing board responsible for the development operations. The cases in this study were cases in which the boards were totally composed of residents accountable to the local community and there was no evidence of cooptation.

A similar interpretation is possible in the cases of local participation in social action groups. By its very nature, as a form of political action to confront established power holders, this mode is less likely to result in local leaders being cooled out in the process of cooptation by the institutions maintaining the status quo. The social action mode of participation is external to the decision processes that it attempts to influence, but the findings indicate that it is efficacious for local purposes. This may be attributable to its conflictual and highly visible processes which cannot be easily controlled by established powerholders.

This efficacy in social action is in contrast to the rather limited efficacy of program advisory participation which is in some sense external to the decision process. The program advisory form of involvement is often pre-structured to suit the purposes of the agency and the double impact of formal and informal cooptation reduces it as a force in the decision process. Since the policy making and the employment modes of participation are internal to the decision process there is potential for resident participants to be coopted but the Alberta case studies contain no evidence of this consequence, except in the Edson case where employee cooptation seems to have been a factor in the lower efficacy of mode (D) activity.



In order to obtain a comparative perspective on the cooptation mechanism as it functioned in Alberta it is necessary to relate this study to other cases in which cooptation was observed. It is unfortunate that the concept of cooptation has not been used extensively in analysis of innovative social programs such as rural development. The concept has become a familiar term in journalistic writing and in the process has lost some of its precision as an analytical tool in social scientific research. However, there are several studies that note the implications of the cooptation mechanism in development programs of this type.

In their analysis of recent programs for urban development Marris and Rein<sup>16</sup> observed cases in which cooptation was an obstacle to the anti-poverty objectives of the United States Office for Economic Opportunity. They noted that the informal cooptation of established power groups into the Community Action Program could delay or prevent the implementation of innovative programs against urban poverty and injustice. They cite the case of the New Haven project in which representatives of the Bar on the CAP Board acted as an informally coopted constituency to delay the implementation of a legal aid program for the poor residents in the area.

Another study points up the danger that formal cooptation of local residents will impair the capacity of poor clientele to develop the leadership required to respond to innovative programs. This study, by Miller and Reissman,<sup>17</sup> found that resident participation that was explicitly structured by the service agency was especially vulnerable to cooptation. They refer to the process as that of 'cooling out' in which the potential leadership of and opposition to a program is neutralized by coopting those residents most capable of





independent action on behalf of the community. They noted a tendency for resident paraprofessionals employed by service agencies to legitimize services that are not in fact wanted by the residents.

Viewing from a different perspective Vidich and Bensman<sup>18</sup> conclude from their analysis that the cooptation mechanism is a major factor in the decline of viable self-government in small communities. They observe that local leaders who are effective in decision making and competent to handle local affairs are coopted and promoted to a position in the 'invisible government' of machine politics. In this analysis cooptation is damaging to local self-reliance and community efficacy by removing key residents from the area of local leadership. This situation is analogous to the cases in rural development in which influential local leaders are coopted by the government agency to legitimize agency activities and convince residents that centrally planned rural development solutions should be accepted. Some of these patterns are observed in the case studies of rural development in Alberta.

In summary, this section has applied the concept of cooptation to the findings of the comprehensive analytical framework used earlier to examine the mode and efficacy of local involvement in rural development activities. From this perspective some of the findings can be explained more fully than was possible within the Kramer-Arnstein framework.

It must be noted, however, that many of the case studies and the peculiar pattern of resident participation could be intelligently interpreted in terms of the diversity of personal styles among the individuals implementing the rural development projects in each particular case. Similarly, an intensive study of each local community



would point up diverse situational factors that would have explanatory value in understanding the resident participation dimension of rural development.

It is significant that there are definite patterns which emerge from analysis of the case studies in spite of the diverse personal and situational factors impinging on the rural development situation. Although the interpretations are based on descriptive case studies rather than rigorous empirical data, it is possible to make tentative inferences and generalizations on the basis of the research findings. It is possible to make a general assessment of the impact of resident participation on the field operations of the three approaches to rural development examined in this thesis. It is also possible to relate the findings of this research to community development principles and to review the research in the context of present and future intervention policies of senior governments engaged in rural and urban programs for development. These are the tasks of the concluding chapter.



Footnotes to Chapter VI

1. R. Kramer; Participation of the Poor, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1969, p. 4.
2. S. Arnstein; "A Ladder of Citizen Participation", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, July 1969, p. 217.
3. This statement is derived from interviews with both local leaders and agency professionals who perceive the process of governance and administration in this way. Local leaders complain that administrators cling to their bureaucratic prerogatives and professionals claim that delegation of real responsibility to local groups would betray the administrator's duty as a guardian of public funds. See also W. H. Goodenough; Cooperation in Change, New York, Russel Sage Foundation, 1963.
4. Some of the assumptions underlying the ARDA program have been outlined by J. N. McCroire; ARDA: An Experiment in Development Planning, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1969, p. 15.
5. This avowedly technocratic approach is in contrast with both J. Whitford; "Toward a More Restricted Definition of Community Development," preliminary draft paper, 1969; and J. Albert; A Proposal Presented to HRDA on Community Development, Edmonton, HRDA, 1970, who point to powerlessness, both socio-economic and political, as a major factor in the continued deprivation of marginal communities in the urban-industrial and affluent society in Canada today.
6. This information is partly based on personal interviews and partly upon written documentation. See C. A. S. Hynam; An Evaluation of Three Alberta Community Development Projects, preliminary draft





paper, 1969; and F. Favel; "Wabasca: A Lesson in Politics", Toronto, Students' Union for Peace Action, undated mimeograph.

7. In retrospect the provincial government's responsiveness might be termed 'over-reacting' in view of the fact that financial inputs and other solutions were imposed that were not consistent with the requests that the Wabasca residents had made.
8. Government of Canada; A White Paper on Indian Policy, Ottawa, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1969.
9. Indian Chiefs of Alberta; Citizens Plus, Ottawa, 1970.
10. It should be noted that the purpose of an exploratory or formulative study is to formulate a problem for more precise investigation or to develop hypotheses. The intention is to lead to insights or hypotheses but not to test or demonstrate them. For a valuable discussion of the advantages and limitations of this type of research design see C. Selltitz, M. Jahoda and S. Cook; Research Methods in Social Relations, Toronto, Holt, Rinehart and Wilson, 1959, pp. 50-65.
11. P. Selznick; TVA and the Grassroots, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1949.
12. Selznick; op. cit., p. 14.
13. Selznick; op. cit., p. 184.
14. McCroire; op. cit., p. 50. He observes the tendency for Alberta's programming to be little more than a continuation of previously existing programs for resource development.
15. The consistent theme of local leaders speaking at the April 1969 meeting of the ARDA advisory council was that the priority need was to get the land clearing program operational if ARDA was to regain some credibility and acceptance among the local farmers. Observations



are based on a videotape recording of the meeting by the HRDA Information Office.

16. P. Marris and M. Rein; Dilemmas of Social Reform, New York, Atherton Press, 1967, p. 157.
17. S. M. Miller and F. Riessman; Social Class and Social Policy, New York, Basic Books, 1968, pp. 250-252.
18. A. J. Vidich and J. Bensman; Small Town in Mass Society, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1958, pp. 114-126.



## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis has been to conduct an exploratory examination and comparative analysis of resident participation in programs for rural development in Alberta.

The concepts and issues of participation have been discussed and an analytical framework developed to provide a focus for the study. The background of rural development has been outlined and three developmental approaches have been delineated. The process of resident participation in the activities of rural development has been presented in the form of twelve case studies of the Alberta experience.

The comparative analysis of the case studies has indicated the different patterns of local involvement and pointed up the impact of different developmental approaches and different modes of participation on the effectiveness of local actions to influence rural development activities in the local community. The patterns of resident participation have been analyzed and interpreted to clarify the interaction of the important variables that determine the efficacy of local involvement. The findings of the analysis have provided the basis for a comparison and assessment of the impact of resident participation on the activities of rural development in Alberta.

Throughout the process of research and analysis the writer has recognized the limitations of an exploratory study of this nature. The problems associated with analysis of unsystematized raw data and amorphous interview observations were accentuated by the absence of previous research into the participation dimension of rural development. The researcher attempted to use sensitizing concepts to guide





the field work and the analysis but there is still the danger that the findings are somewhat an artifact of methodological procedures. In view of these limitations the interpretations and conclusions presented in the thesis are stated as tentative hypotheses generated in the process of research and analysis. The findings are not presented as inferences of causality in the rural development process. Rather the conclusions are the product of research-based insight and empathy that have been clarified by the comparative analysis of diverse case studies. It is from a comparative rather than an evaluative perspective that the conclusions of the thesis have been derived.

#### The Impact of Resident Participation

An assessment of the impact of resident participation on rural development activities in Alberta must recognize the limited role that local involvement has within the total process of social and economic development in rural areas. It has not been the intention of this study to compare the role of participation with the role of other factors that impinge upon rural development. This study has been restricted to an examination of the differential impact of three developmental approaches and four modes of local involvement on the rural development process.

Since this study has been confined to activities within the resident participation dimension it is not possible to make definite statements about the impact of participation relative to other important dimensions of the rural development process. However, there is little doubt that resident participation was less significant than other forces impinging on rural development. The case studies illustrate



the interaction of the participation dimension with other dimensions of rural development.

The analyses of the case studies have indicated that the impact of resident participation was often less significant than other factors in determining the scope and direction of the total process of rural development. Some other important factors influencing the process of development include: the general trend of social, economic and technological change, the trend toward more central and comprehensive planning, the trend toward more urban environments and life styles, the trend of bureaucratic and administrative pressures in government agencies and the pervasive trend to public awareness through the mass media of communication. These general trends have been critical factors converging and diverging in relation to resident participation as it influenced the rural development process. This overview of forces impinging on the rural development process clearly indicates that local involvement was just one of several factors that has had an impact on the process in Alberta.

It is in this context that this thesis points to some limited conclusions about the impact of resident participation on Alberta's programs for rural development. The case studies and analyses indicate that some form of participation was present in all programs although the impact was often negligible. The research also indicated that resident participation had a quite substantial impact in some cases. It is the different impact of participation in different cases that has been the focus of this study. It is necessary to attempt some conclusions about the differential impact observed in the case studies. These are presented as tentative hypotheses to stimulate further study rather than as causal explanations of the phenomena observed.



The comparative analyses clearly indicate that each of the three developmental approaches had different implications for the form and substance of resident participation. The analyses showed that the scope for resident participation was greatest in the CED approach and least in the ADT approach. The analyses also indicated that the effectiveness of resident participation was greatest in the CED approach and least in the ADT approach. These findings point to the conclusion that the developmental approach adopted by the agency is a significant determinant of the scope and impact of resident participation in rural development.

More specifically the findings generate tentative hypotheses that may be simply stated thus:

- (1) The CED approach maximizes the scope of resident participation in rural development activities.
- (2) The ADT approach minimizes the scope of resident participation in rural development activities.
- (3) The CED approach maximizes the impact of resident participation in rural development activities.
- (4) The ADT approach minimizes the impact of resident participation in rural development activities.

These four statements briefly summarize the observed relationship between the approach variable and the participation variables that have been examined in this thesis. On the basis of the comparative analysis of the case studies it is possible to make similar tentative statements about the relationship between the two participation variables that have been the focus of the thesis. These tentative hypotheses may be briefly stated thus:





- (5) The policy decision making mode maximizes the impact of resident participation on rural development activities.
- (6) The program development advisory mode minimizes the impact of resident participation on rural development activities.

It is beyond the purview of an exploratory study, such as this thesis, to confirm or disconfirm hypotheses. The intention in stating the conclusions in the form of hypotheses is to clarify the relationships that have been observed in the research and analysis of the thesis. The conclusions are the result of an inductive process of research and analysis.

The six statements above indicate the effect of the main determinants of the impact of resident participation on rural development programs in the Alberta case studies. The findings point to the need for further and more extensive research into the phenomena of resident participation in rural development. They have important implications for new trends and social policies related to citizen involvement in the social and economic development activities of the provincial government.

#### Resident Participation in the Integrated Approach

In this thesis there has been an attempt to clearly differentiate the three developmental approaches that agencies have used to implement rural development programs in Alberta. Further, the four modes of local involvement have been rigorously differentiated to separate the alternate channels for local residents to participate in rural development. This absolute separation is useful for analytical purposes but it is somewhat inconsistent with the actual process of rural development.



In this context it should be noted that the approaches and modes do not operate in isolation, rather they provide a matrix of alternate opportunities, overlapping services and occasionally conflicting processes in marginal rural communities.

The case studies indicated some of the ways that the three different approaches related to each other in the field. There were cases in which the activities in one approach complemented and reinforced development processes in another approach. For example, several cases were noted in which CDO activity was a stimulus for the emergence of CED efforts in rural areas. On the other hand, there were cases such as the Indian Association in which the CED approach developed an organization that undertook to carry out its own CDO work in Native communities. In a similar process it was often ADT operations that provided the technical and financial assistance for CED activity. In the Slave Lake case of the ADT approach it was the initial stimulation of CDO activity that provided a large part of the initial impetus for the establishment of a modified ADT rural development program in the area.

There were several cases in which the different assumptions, divergent analyses of problems and peculiar procedures of the three approaches led to agencies working at cross purposes in pursuit of solutions to rural problems. For example, the localistic and community-centred operation of the CDO approach often conflicted with the universalistic and technocratic solutions offered by the ADT approach. The studies illustrate that the autonomy of enterprises in the CED approach may function at cross purposes to the comprehensive planning dimension of the ADT approach.



Although the three approaches did not always carry out a cooperative and coordinated program for rural development, the diversity of approaches and modes of resident participation did serve to expand the opportunity for rural residents to participate in the social and economic life of the mainstream. The fact that this diversity resulted in a less efficient and comprehensive effort at rural development is balanced by the fact that this fragmented approach provided scope for innovative solutions and development opportunities that might have been missed in the implementation of a single comprehensive program.

It is in the context of the problems and advantages of the fragmented approach that the trend in the case studies toward an integrated and regional orientation to rural development is significant. In some sense the modified ADT approach that is being implemented in the Lesser Slave Lake special project area is an attempt to integrate the three approaches into a more effective instrument for social and economic development in slow growing rural areas of the province. The main thrust of the innovative trends in the ADT approach seems designed to integrate the social animation activity of the CDO component with the service delivery structures of the ADT approach. Parallel to this is the attempt to integrate the inputs of the CED approach into the comprehensive planning mechanism of the ADT approach.

There is little doubt that these trends have important implications for resident participation in rural development activities. In view of the findings of this thesis--that the scope and impact of local involvement is most limited in the ADT approach--the trend to emphasize the modified ADT approach in this province has implications for resident participation. Unless the elements of the CDO and the CED approach that maximize local involvement are emphasized in the new approach there is





some danger that the role of resident participation will contract rather than expand with this new form of intervention. If the CDO approach's responsiveness to local preferences and the CED approach's recognition of local and self-reliant autonomy are built into the ADT approach's capacity for coordinated service delivery, the new approach will be an effective instrument for rural development with resident participation.

### Relation to Community Development Principles

The central concern of this thesis has been to illustrate and analyze the participation of local people in programs for rural development in Alberta during the last decade. It has been the intention of the writer that this study should be a contribution to the existing body of knowledge of the theory and practice of community development principles. By way of conclusion it is appropriate to relate the insights and findings of the comparative case studies and analyses to these principles.

One of the central themes of community development literature points to the crucial role of local participation in facilitating the effective response of marginal communities to the forces of modernization and change that impinge upon their lives. In this context it is observed that each of the case studies of rural development has some instance of resident participation. However, the scope for participation was most effective in CED cases, shaping the rural development process in accordance with local perceptions of the situation.

Another important theme that emerges from community development



studies is the necessity for local people to enter a participant-guided experiential learning process. It is in this process that the individual and group development occurs and the community becomes more ready to respond effectively to its problems and its opportunities. The case studies of the CDO and the CED approach indicate that these approaches are conducive to this form of learning and growth. The ADT is perhaps less productive of this process because of its emphasis on delivery of coordinated services, technical inputs and generally economic orientation of the rural problems. The case studies also contain evidence that agency officials tend to become impatient with the alleged waste and inefficiency of muddling through the learning process and solutions have been imposed that soon collapse in the absence of the process that must evolve from the community.

It is a fundamental principle of community development that the process of development must commence at the level of the locally perceived need for change and development. The case studies illustrate that agency personnel, especially in the ADT approach, were often too directive and administratively impatient to permit the process to be initiated at the level of the local people and evolve into a sustained process of social and economic development. There is also evidence that agency inputs in the CED approach did not always fit with the perceived needs of the residents and the material benefits emphasis of CED agencies tended to distort and stifle the educational process that is pre-requisite to effective and sustained development.

It is important that rural development programs involve an appropriate balance of client initiative and agency initiative in seeking solutions to problems in the community. Overly active interference on the part of the agency staff simply increases the problems



of dependency and lack of self reliant leadership in the community. On the other hand the lack of creative intervention on the part of agency staff permits the vicious circle of poverty to perpetuate itself. The Alberta case studies illustrate the efforts of rural development agencies to find the most effective balance of intervention and local initiative for the solution of local problems.

In this context, a related principle of community development field work should be examined in the light of the Alberta case studies. It is an essential operational principle that rural development field workers should be change designers rather than change pushers. This implies that the objective of the field worker should be to design learning situations in which participants have the resources to initiate self chosen development. He should not function to promote the objectives of the agency or to push for certain types of social and economic change. It is unfortunate that the Alberta case studies indicate so many instances of change pushing and so few of change designing. Rural development efforts in Alberta have been so concerned with meeting immediate material needs that lower priority has been given to designing situations to facilitate the process.

In order to relate the findings of the thesis more directly to the theory and practice of community development it is necessary to examine the hypothesis generated from the Alberta research to this more general body of behavioral knowledge. The first set of hypotheses states that the CED approach maximizes the scope for local involvement while the ADT approach minimizes this scope. From the perspective of community development principles this finding indicates that the CED approach has advantages over the ADT approach because it provides more learning opportunities and improves the ability of the members





of marginal communities to respond to the challenge of modernization and social change.

The second set of hypotheses states that the CED approach maximizes the impact of participation and the ADT approach minimizes the impact of participation. This indicates that the CED mode of intervention is more responsive to local preferences and priorities and permits more meaningful and effective participation experiences for the local people. From the perspective of community development principles the CED approach is more effective than the ADT approach because it designs a development situation in which participants make their own decisions and initiate their own activities in pursuit of objectives that are mutually acceptable.

The third set of hypotheses indicates that the policy decision making mode of participation maximizes the impact of involvement and program development advisory participation minimizes the impact of participation. This finding is evidence in support of the community development principle that individuals and groups should be responsible for decisions within the sphere of their own lives. The disadvantage of advisory participation is that it tends to become ritualistic and dependency inducing since community leadership has no effective influence over activities within the community environment.

From the perspective of community development principles it is necessary to make the assumption that a greater scope and impact for resident participation is a positive feature of rural development activities. Following from this premise the findings of the thesis clearly indicate that there are changes in government policies and agency procedures that would have positive implications for more meaningful and effective citizen participation in the social and economic development of Alberta.



### The Need for Further Research

In concluding this thesis it is essential to reiterate the limitations of the research and analysis conducted for this document. An attempt has been made to present conclusions in a tentative format to stimulate discussion and research rather than to judge and evaluate the province's rural development efforts.

The exploratory nature of this study requires that more rigorous empirical research be undertaken to provide a valid and reliable assessment of local involvement in rural development. The intention has been to generate hypotheses and insights that would be the starting point for an intensive examination of particular cases and aspects of resident participation. Alternately, further research would focus on the local residents' perception of their role in rural development. Another productive area for research would be to relate the extent of local involvement to the economic success of particular rural development projects.

In the process of research the writer was concerned with the limited community development activities in the urban areas of the province and by the lack of analytical and evaluative research in this area. A specific objective of future research might be to study the rural experience with resident participation with a view to applying the insights and principles to the urban situation. This would involve substantial adaptation in view of the urban life style and the impossibility of applying social scientific knowledge of rural areas to the emerging urban society.

The exploratory efforts of this thesis present a limited addition to the fund of knowledge in the applied behavioral sciences.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Articles and Reports

- Albert, J. R.: Proposal Presented to Human Resources Development Authority on Community Development, Edmonton, HRDA, 1970.
- Alberta Department of Agriculture: An Analysis of Resources in Alberta's Lesser Slave Lake Area, Economics Division, 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_: Resources for Rural Development: Alberta Census Division 14, Edmonton, Economics Division, 1966.
- \_\_\_\_\_: "Rural Development Program for Census Division 14, Alberta", Edson, unpublished material for the ARDA office, undated.
- \_\_\_\_\_: The B-12 Plan: An Outline for Rural Development in Alberta's Census Division 12, Economics Division, 1968.
- Alberta Department of Industry and Development: "What is the Department of Industry and Development?", Edmonton, 1964.
- Alberta Human Resources Development Authority: The B-15 Plan: An Outline for Rural Development in Alberta's Census Division 15, Edmonton, Research and Planning Division, 1969.
- Arnstein, S. R.: "A Ladder of Citizen Participation", in the Journal of the American Institute of Planners, July 1969.
- Baker, W. B.: "The Development Matrix: A Post-Symposium Interpretation" in Baker, W. B. (Ed): Rehabilitation and the Rural Development Matrix, Saskatoon, Centre for Community Studies 1965.
- Blondin, M.: "Social Animation as Developed and Practised by Le Conseil des Oeuvres de Montreal", unpublished paper, Montreal, 1968.
- Cahn, E. S. and Cahn, J. C.: "Citizen Participation" in Spiegel, H. B. C. (Ed): Citizen Participation in Urban Development, Washington, NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, 1968.
- Canada Department of Forestry and Rural Development: Development Plan for the Pilot Region: Lower St. Lawrence, Gaspé and Iles-de-la-Madeleine, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_: Federal-Provincial Rural Development Agreement, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1967.
- Co-operative Union of Canada: "Brief to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty", Proceedings of the Senate Committee on Poverty, No. 20, Ottawa, Feb. 12, 1970.

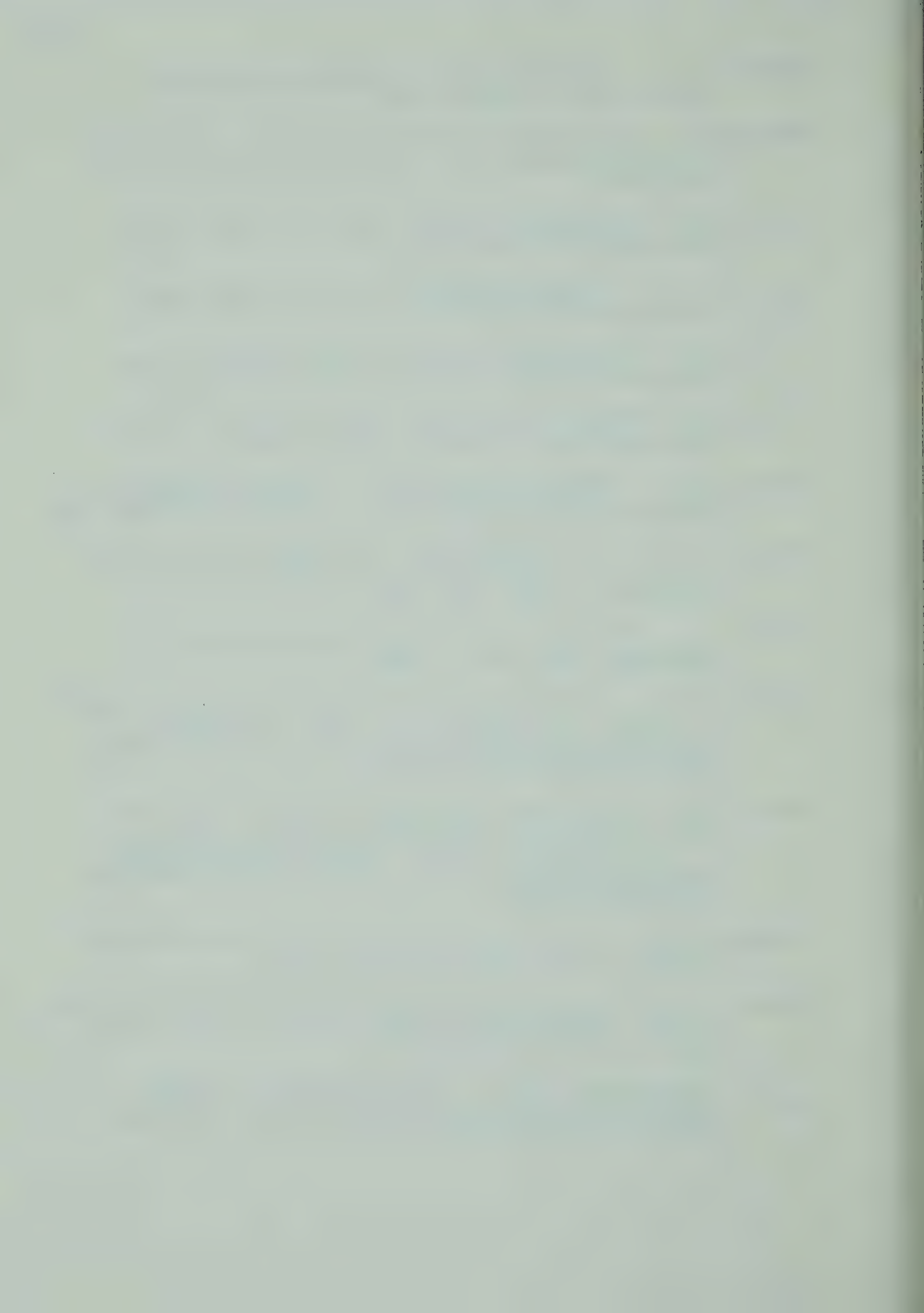




- Davis, A. K.: "Comments on 'Community Development: Science or Ideology'" in Human Organization, Vol. 27, No. 1, Spring 1968.
- Doyle, R. U.: "Requiem for Community Development" in Canadian Welfare, January-February 1970.
- Erasmus, C. J.: "Community Development and the Encogido Syndrome" in Human Organization, Vol. 27, No. 1, Spring 1968.
- Favel, F.: "Wabasca: A Lesson in Politics", Toronto, Students' Union for Peace Action, undated.
- Forster, J.: "Social Development and Labour Force Participation" in Pacific Viewpoint, May 1969.
- Garvin, T. J. and Robertson, H.: "The Community Development Process in Fort McMurray 1964-1966", Edmonton, unpublished report, Community Development Branch, 1966.
- Goldblatt, H.: "Arguments For and Against Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal" in Spiegel, H. B. C. (Ed): Citizen Participation in Urban Development, Washington, NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, Vol. I, 1968.
- Government of Canada: A White Paper on Indian Policy, Ottawa, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1969.
- Haggstrom, W. D.: "The Power of the Poor" in Fernan, L. A., Kornbluh, J. L. and Haber, A. (Eds): Poverty in America, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1965.
- Hatt, F. K.: "The Metis and Community Development in North-Eastern Alberta: in Card, B. Y.: Perspectives on Regions and Regionalism, Western Association of Sociology and Anthropology Proceedings, 1968, Edmonton, University of Alberta, 1969.
- Hetland, G. L.: "Socio-Economic Change in the Grand Cache Region of Alberta", Edmonton, unpublished M.Sc. Thesis, University of Alberta, Fall 1969.
- Hynam, C. A. S.: "An Evaluation of Three Alberta Community Development Projects", Edmonton, preliminary draft paper, 1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_: "Community Development: An Example of Conceptual Confusion", an unpublished paper, Edmonton, 1968.
- Indian Chiefs of Alberta: Citizens Plus, Ottawa, 1970.
- Lac La Biche Residents: "A Petition to the Prime Minister, the Minister of Regional Economic Expansion and the Premier, Lac La Biche, 1970.
- Lyons, W. E.: "Social and Political Considerations in Economic Development" in Winter, G. R. and Rogers W. B. (Eds): Stimulants to Social Development in Slow Growing Regions, Edmonton, Alberta Department of Agriculture, 1966.



- Manning, E. C.: A White Paper on Human Resources Development, Edmonton, Queen's Printer, 1967.
- Mohammad, A.: "Evaluation of ARDA Projects in Census Division 14", Edmonton, unpublished M.Sc. Thesis, University of Alberta, Spring 1969.
- Nagle, E. B.: "Com/Media", Edmonton, unpublished report on the HRDA information project, 1970.
- Poetschke, L. E.: Regional Planning for Depressed Rural Areas, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968.
- Powers, R. C.: Identifying the Community Power Structure, Ames, Iowa State University Extension Publication #19, 1965.
- Richards, L.: "Change and the Media", unpublished paper from the Banff Conference, University of Calgary, 1970.
- Sanders, I. T.: "Community Development" in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 4, MacMillan-Free Press, 1968.
- Saram, P. A. S.: "A Sociological Analysis of Agent Participation as an Approach to Planned Change", unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, Fall 1969.
- Smyth, F. J.: "The Development of the Antigonish Movement" in Convergence, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1969.
- Sterling, G. R.: "Cooperation Between Physical and Social Scientists" in Winter, G. R. and Rogers, W. B. (Eds): Stimulants to Social Development in Slow Growing Regions, Edmonton, Alberta Department of Agriculture, 1966.
- Watts, L. H.: "Inter-Agency Cooperation as Applied to Social and Economic Development in Slow Growing Regions" in Winter, G. R. and Rogers, W. B. (Eds): Stimulants to Social Development in Slow Growing Regions, Edmonton, Alberta Department of Agriculture, 1966.
- Whitford, J. R.: "Toward a More Restricted Definition of Community Development", preliminary draft paper, 1969.
- Wilson, J. Q.: "An Overview of Theories of Planned Change" in Morris, R. (Ed): Centrally Planned Change, New York, National Association of Social Workers, 1964.
- \_\_\_\_\_: "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal" in Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXIX, No. 4, November 1963.



## Books

- American Academy of Arts and Sciences: Daedalus: The Conscience of the City, Vol. 97, No. 4, Fall 1968.
- Banfield, E. C. and Wilson, J. Q.: City Politics, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1963.
- Biddle, W. W. and Biddle, L. J.: The Community Development Process, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Wilson, 1965.
- Bruyn, S. T.: The Human Perspective, New York, Prentice Hall, 1966.
- Buckley, H. and Tihanyi, E.: Canadian Policies for Rural Adjustment, Ottawa, Economic Council of Canada, Queen's Printer, 1967.
- Card, B. Y.: The Metis in Alberta Society, Edmonton, University of Alberta, 1963.
- Coady, M. M.: Masters of Their Destiny, New York, Harpers, 1939.
- Economic Council of Canada: Fifth Annual Review: The Challenge of Growth and Change, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968.
- Eisenstadt, S. N.: Modernization: Protest and Change, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1966.
- Goodenough, W. H.: Cooperation in Change, New York, Russel Sage Foundation, 1963.
- Goodman, P.: The Moral Ambiguity of America, Toronto, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1965.
- Jones, G. N.: Planned Organizational Change, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.
- Kramer, R.: Participation of the Poor, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1969.
- Marris, P. and Rein, M.: Dilemmas of Social Reform, New York, Atherton Press, 1967.
- McCroire, J. N.: ARDA: An Experiment in Development Planning, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1967.
- Mezirow, J. D.: The Dynamics of Community Development, New York, Scarecrow Press, 1963.
- Miller, S. M. and Riessman, F.: Social Class and Social Policy, New York, Basic Books, 1968.
- Moynihan, D. P.: Maximum Feasible Participation: Community Action in the War on Poverty, New York, Free Press, 1969.





- Myrdal, G.: Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations, New York, Pantheon Books, 1968.
- Nicholls, W. M.: Views on Rural Development in Canada, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968.
- Ross, M. G.: Community Organization, New York, Harper and Row, 1967.
- Selltiz, C., Jahoda, M., Deutsch, M. and Cook, S.: Research Methods in Social Relations, Toronto, Holt, Rinehart and Wilson, 1959.
- Selznick, P.: TVA and the Grassroots, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1949.
- Sherwood, F. P.: Institutionalizing the Grassroots in Brazil, San Francisco, Chandler, 1967.
- UNESCO: Evaluating Development Projects, Paris, UNESCO, Revised Edition, 1966.
- Vidich, A. J. and Bensman, J.: Small Town in Mass Society, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1958.



## APPENDICES

Appendix A

Adapted from Participation of the Poor by R. Kramer, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1969, Table 1, p. 4.

## Four Modes of Resident Participation

	<u>Mode A</u>
Goal	Participation in policy making by the representatives of the poor
Content of Activity	CAP policy making
Role of the Poor	Governing board members
Issues	Participation by the poor in a tripartite coalition or Control of the CAP Board by the representatives of the poor who constitute a majority of the members
	<u>Mode B</u>
Goal	Target area feedback and utilization of service
Content of Activity	Program development
Role of the Poor	Social service consumers
Issues	Centralization of power in the CAP, advisory functions delegated to the target area organization or Decentralization of power with planning, policy making, and administrative authority vested in the target area organization



Mode C

Goal	Redistribution of power to affect changes in community policies
Content of Activity	Social action
Role of the Poor	Political constituency
Issues	Social Service programs; community organization used mainly for information and referral purposes or Political power; community organization used to foster social action and community development

Mode D

Goals	Job experience
Content of Activity	Employment in CAP
Role of the Poor	Staff members
Issues	Merit system qualifications for employment of indigenous people or "Need", reward for loyalty (patronage) or both as criteria for employment





Appendix B

Abridged from "A Ladder of Citizen Participation" by S. R. Arnstein,  
Journal of the American Institute of Planners, July 1969, pp. 216-224.

The heated controversy over "citizen participation," "citizen control," and "maximum feasible involvement of the poor," has been waged largely in terms of exacerbated rhetoric and misleading euphemisms. To encourage a more enlightened dialogue, a typology of citizen participation is offered using examples from three federal social programs: urban renewal, anti-poverty, and Model Cities. The typology, which is designed to be provocative, is arranged in a ladder pattern with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens' power in determining the plan and/or program.

The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you. Participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of democracy--a revered idea that is vigorously applauded by virtually everyone. The applause is reduced to polite handclaps, however, when this principle is advocated by the have-nots who define participation as redistribution of power, the American consensus on the fundamental principle explodes into many shades of outright racial, ethnic, ideological, and political opposition.

There have been many recent speeches, articles, and books which explore in detail who are the have-nots of our time. There has been much recent documentation of why the have-nots have become so offended and embittered by their powerlessness to deal with the profound inequities and injustices pervading their daily lives. But there has been very little analysis of the content of the current controversial slogan:



"citizen participation" or "maximum feasible participation." In short: What is citizen participation and what is its relationship to the social imperatives of our time?

### Citizen Participation is Citizen Power

Because the question has been a bone of political contention, most of the answers have been purposely buried in innocuous euphemisms like "self-help" or "citizen involvement." Still others have been embellished with misleading rhetoric like "absolute control" which is something no one--including the President of the United States--has or can have. Between understated euphemisms and exacerbated rhetoric, even scholars have found it difficult to follow the controversy. To the headline reading public, it is simply bewildering.

My answer to the critical what question is simply that citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power. It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parceled out. In short, it is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society.

### Empty Ritual Versus Benefit

There is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the



outcome of the process. This difference is brilliantly capsulized in a poster painted last spring by the French students to explain the student-worker rebellion. The poster highlights the fundamental point that participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless. It allows the powerholders to claim that all sides were considered, but makes it possible for only some of those sides to benefit. It maintains the status quo. Essentially, it is what has been happening in most of the 1,000 Community Action Programs, and what promises to be repeated in the vast majority of the 150 Model Cities programs.

#### Types of Participation and "NonParticipation"

A typology of eight levels of participation may help in analysis of this confused issue. For illustrative purposes the eight types are arranged in a ladder pattern with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens' power in determining the end product.

The bottom rungs of the ladder are (1) Manipulation and (2) Therapy. These two rungs describe levels of "non-participation" that have been contrived by some to substitute for genuine participation. Their real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programs, but to enable powerholders to "educate" or "cure" the participants. Rungs 3 and 4 progress to levels of "tokenism" that allow the have-nots to hear and to have a voice: (3) Informing and (4) Consultation. When they are proffered by powerholders as the total extent of participation, citizens may indeed hear and be heard. But under these conditions they lack the power to insure that their views will be heeded by the powerful. When participation is restricted to these levels, there is no follow-





through, no "muscle," hence no assurance of changing the status quo. Rung (5) Placation, is simply a higher level tokenism because the groundrules allow have-nots to advise, but retain for the powerholders the continued right to decide.

Further up the ladder are levels of citizen power with increasing degrees of decision-making clout. Citizens can enter into a (6) Partnership that enables them to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional powerholders. At the topmost rungs, (7) Delegated Power and (8) Citizen Control, have-not citizens obtain the majority of decision-making seats, or full managerial power.

Obviously, the eight-rung ladder is a simplification, but it helps to illustrate the point that so many have missed--that there are significant gradations of citizen participation. Knowing these gradations makes it possible to cut through the hyperbole to understand the increasingly strident demands for participation from the have-nots as well as the gamut of confusing responses from the powerholders.

Though the typology uses examples from federal programs such as urban renewal, anti-poverty, and Model Cities; it could just as easily be illustrated in the church, currently facing demands for power from priests and laymen who seek to change its mission; colleges and universities which in some cases have become literal battlegrounds over the issue of student power; or public schools, city halls and police departments (or big business which is likely to be next on the expanding list of targets). The underlying issues are essentially the same-- "nobodies" in several arenas are trying to become "somebodies" with enough power to make the target institutions responsive to their views, aspirations, and needs.



### Limitations of the Typology

The ladder juxtaposes powerless citizens with the powerful in order to highlight the fundamental divisions between them. In actuality, neither the have-nots nor the powerholders are homogeneous blocs. Each group encompasses a host of divergent points of view, significant cleavages, competing vested interests, and splintered subgroups. The justification for using such simplistic abstractions is that in most cases the have-nots really do perceive the powerful as a monolithic "system," and powerholders actually do view the have-nots as a sea of "those people," with little comprehension of the class and caste differences among them.

It should be noted that the typology does not include an analysis of the most significant roadblocks to achieving genuine levels of participation. These roadblocks lie on both sides of the simplistic fence. On the powerholders' side, they include racism, paternalism, and resistance to power redistribution. On the have-nots' side, they include inadequacies of the poor community's political socioeconomic infrastructure and knowledgebase, plus difficulties of organizing a representative and accountable citizens' group in the face of futility, alienation, and distrust.

Another caution about the eight separate rungs on the ladder: In the real world of people and programs, there might be 150 rungs with less sharp and "pure" distinctions among them. Furthermore, some of the characteristics used to illustrate each of the eight types might be applicable to other rungs. For example, employment of the have-nots in a program or on a planning staff could occur at any of the eight rungs and could represent either a legitimate or illegitimate charac-



teristic of citizen participation. Depending on their motives, powerholders can hire poor people to coopt them, to placate them, or to utilize the have-nots' skills and insights. Some mayors, in private, actually boast of their strategy in hiring militant black leaders to muzzle them while destroying their credibility in the black community.

### Characteristics and Illustrations

It is in this context of power and powerlessness that the characteristics of the eight rungs are illustrated by examples from current federal social programs.

#### (1) Manipulation

In the name of citizen participation, people are placed on rubber-stamp advisory committees or advisory boards for the express purpose of "educating" them or engineering their support. Instead of genuine citizen participation, the bottom rung signifies the distortion of participation into a public relations vehicle by powerholders....

#### (2) Therapy

In some respects group therapy, masked as citizen participation, should be on the lowest rung of the ladder because it is both dishonest and arrogant. Its administrators--mental health experts from social workers to psychiatrists--assume that powerlessness is synonymous with mental illness. On this assumption, under a masquerade of involving citizens in planning, the experts subject the citizens to clinical group therapy. What makes this form of "participation" so invidious is that citizens are engaged in extensive activity, but the focus of it is on curing them of their "pathology" rather than changing the racism and victimization that create their "pathologies"....





### (3) Informing

Informing citizens of their rights, responsibilities, and options can be the most important first step toward legitimate citizen participation. However, too often the emphasis is placed on a one-way flow of information from officials to citizens--with no channel provided for feedback and no power for negotiation. Under these conditions, particularly when information is provided at a late stage in planning, people have little opportunity to influence the program designed "for their benefit". The most frequent tools used for such one-way communication are the news media, pamphlets, posters and responses to inquiries....

### (4) Consultation

Inviting citizens' opinions, like informing them, can be a legitimate step toward their full participation. But if consulting them is not combined with other modes of participation, this rung of the ladder is still a sham since it offers no assurance that citizen concerns and ideas will be taken into account. The most frequent methods used for consulting people are attitude surveys, neighbourhood meetings, and public hearings.

When powerholders restrict the input of citizens' ideas solely to this level, participation remains just a window-dressing ritual. People are primarily perceived as statistical abstractions, and participation is measured by how many come to meetings, take brochures home, or answer the questionnaire. What citizens achieve in all this activity is that they "participated in participation". And what the powerholders achieve is the evidence that they have gone through the required motions of involving "those people"....

### (5) Placation

It is at this level that citizens begin to have some degree of



influence though tokenism is still apparent. An example of placation strategy is to place a few hand-picked "worthy" poor on boards of Community Action Agencies or on public bodies like the board of education, police commission, or housing authority. If they are not accountable to a constituency in the community and if the traditional power elite hold the majority of seats, the have-nots can be easily outvoted and outfoxed. Another example is the Model Cities advisory and planning committees. They allow citizens to advise or plan ad infinitum but retain for powerholders the right to judge the legitimacy or feasibility of the advice. The degree to which the citizens are actually placated, of course, depends largely on two factors: the quality of technical assistance they have in articulating their priorities; and the extent to which the community has been organized to press for those priorities....

#### (6) Partnership

At this rung of the ladder, power is in fact redistributed through negotiation between citizens and powerholders. They agree to share planning and decision-making responsibilities through such strategies as joint policy boards, planning committees and mechanisms for resolving impasses. After the groundrules have been established through some form of give-and-take, they are not subject to unilateral change.

Partnership can work most effectively when there is an organized power-base in the community to which the citizen leaders are accountable; when the citizens' group has the financial resources to pay its leaders reasonable honoraria for their time-consuming efforts; and when the group has the resources to hire (and fire) its own technicians, lawyers, and community organizers. With these ingredients, citizens have some genuine bargaining influence over the outcome of the plan (as long as



both parties find it useful to maintain the partnership). One community leader described it "like coming to city hall with hat on head instead of in hand"....

In most cases where power has come to be shared it was taken by the citizens, not given by the city. There is nothing new about that process. Since those who have power normally want to hang onto it, historically it has to be wrested by the powerless rather than proffered by the powerful....

#### (7) Delegated Power

Negotiations between citizens and public officials can also result in citizens achieving dominant decision-making authority over a particular plan or program. Model City policy boards or CAA delegate agencies on which citizens have a clear majority of seats and genuine specified powers are typical examples. At this level, the ladder has been scaled to the point where citizens hold the significant cards to assure accountability of the program to them. To resolve differences, powerholders need to start the bargaining process rather than respond to pressure from the other end....

#### (8) Citizen Control

Demands for community controlled schools, black control, and neighbourhood control are on the increase. Though no one in the nation has absolute control, it is very important that the rhetoric not be confused with intent. People are simply demanding that degree of power (or control) which guarantees that participants or residents can govern a program or an institution, be in full charge of policy and managerial aspects, and be able to negotiate the conditions under which "outsiders" may change them.





A neighbourhood corporation with no intermediaries between it and the source of funds is the model most frequently advocated. A small number of such experimental corporations are already producing goods and/or social services. Several others are reportedly in the development stage, and new models for control will undoubtedly emerge as the have-nots continue to press for greater degrees of power over their lives.

















**B29950**